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ABSTRACT

This is a report on a study on the status and opportunities of Hispanic Americans in the labor market. Chapter 1 describes the characteristics of the Hispanic American population as compared to the rest of the U.S. population, and examines how Hispanic experiences in the labor market differ from the experiences of other groups. Chapter 2 shows how the different subgroups comprising the Hispanic American population (Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Central and South Americans) vary in their characteristics and in problems encountered in the labor market. Chapter 3 reviews the literature on Hispanic Americans in order to explore the reasons for Hispanics' high unemployment rate and for their overrepresentation in low-paying jobs. It is suggested that, in general, the major causes of Hispanics' labor market problems are: (1) lack of proficiency in English; (2) low levels of formal schooling; and (3) discrimination in the labor market. Finally, chapter 4 examines two federally sponsored activities designed to improve the economic position of Hispanic Americans, namely, bilingual education programs, and training programs to develop skills required for employment. (Author/MJL)

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Hispanics and Jobs: Barriers to Progress

NCEP research shows that:

Hispanic-Americans face three barriers to success in the job market: lack of proficiency in English, low levels of formal schooling, and discrimination. By far the most important barrier is difficulty with English.

Hispanics are a sizeable and growing part of the U.S. population. They fare almost as badly as blacks in the labor market, judged by unemployment and wages. Moreover, their school dropout rates are higher than either blacks or whites.

The Hispanic subgroups, however, suffer in very different ways and to different degrees. This diversity of problems reflects the varieties of location, education, and immigration settlement histories of the peoples called "Hispanic."

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Hispanics and Jobs: Barriers to Progress

Report No. 14
September 1982

NCEP

National Commission for Employment Policy • 1522 K Street, N.W. • Suite 300 • Washington, D.C. 20005

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NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR EMPLOYMENT POLICY
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September 14, 1982

TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

On behalf of the National Commission for Employment Policy, I am pleased to submit to you Hispanics and Jobs: Barriers to Progress. The report is focused on the difficulties Hispanic-Americans have in finding and keeping good jobs.

Hispanics are a sizeable and growing part of the Nation's population. NCEP research shows that Hispanics face three barriers in the job market: lack of proficiency in English, low levels of formal schooling, and discrimination. By far the most important barrier is difficulty with English. Hispanics fare almost as badly as blacks in the labor market, judged by unemployment and wages, and their school dropout rates are higher than either blacks or whites. Hispanic groups--Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban-Americans, Central and South Americans, and "other Spanish"--suffer in very different ways and to different degrees in the labor market, reflecting the varieties of location, education, and immigration/settlement histories of the Hispanic groups. Researchers found:

- The individual Hispanic groups are concentrated in cities and in a few States--Florida, California, New York, New Jersey, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.
- Hispanics are young--half are under 24; almost one-third are under 15.
- Hispanics have fewer years of schooling than blacks or whites and their dropout rates are higher than either blacks or whites.
- While Hispanics in the workforce fare better than blacks but worse than whites, individual groups have the specific problems of low wages, low participation in the workforce, or high unemployment. Hispanic men, as do all men, earn more than Hispanic women; some groups of Hispanic women suffer from the poverty associated with female headed households.
- About 40 percent of the Hispanic population has some difficulty with communicating in English. These problems appear to reduce their prospects for good jobs, impede their educational attainment, and operate as a vehicle for discrimination.

The development of this project brought to our attention the lack of research in this area. The Commission and the Department of Labor sponsored new research and the staff report in this volume brings together information previously scattered or unavailable.

We hope that this volume will encourage private institutions and government at all levels to concentrate more attention on the problems of Hispanic workers. We believe this work should be of use to policymakers and offer our assistance to decisionmakers in both public and private sectors.

KENNETH M. SMITH
Chairman

Policy Statement
on
Hispanic-Americans
in the Labor Market

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR EMPLOYMENT POLICY
POLICY STATEMENT ON
HISPANIC-AMERICANS IN THE LABOR MARKET

In 1981, the National Commission for Employment Policy began an inquiry into the labor market position of Hispanic-Americans. While many perceptions existed about the dimensions and causes of employment problems among Hispanics, there was very little information to support them. The Commission undertook an in-depth analysis of available data to determine the exact nature of these problems.

The Commission began this project with the knowledge that the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy was studying immigration issues. While acknowledging the importance of these issues for the Hispanic community, the Commission chose to spend its limited staff and research resources on an area in which it has expertise and where little work was being done.

In brief the Commission found that:

- o Hispanic-Americans (Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans and Central or South Americans) fare worse in the labor market than the non-Hispanic white population.
- o These several Hispanic-American groups differ in the type and severity of the problems they experience. Many of these differences are due to their particular geographic distribution across the United States.
- o A lack of fluency in English is the major source of the labor market difficulties of all subgroups. It directly affects their labor market position, their educational attainment, and is one facet of labor market discrimination.
- o A low level of education is the second major reason for Hispanics' poor labor market experience.
- o Discrimination in the labor market further contributes to their weak position.

The Labor Market Position of Hispanic-Americans

The 1980 census estimated that there are 14.6 million persons of Hispanic origin on the U.S. mainland and 3.2 million in Puerto Rico. Hispanics represented 6.5 percent of the mainland population in 1980 compared to 4.5 percent in

1970. Hispanics are geographically concentrated in a few States. Almost 90 percent of Mexican-Americans live in the five southwestern States of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, and Colorado; about 70 percent of Puerto Ricans outside the island live in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; about 60 percent of the Cuban-Americans live in Florida, and another 21 percent are in New York; about two-thirds of Central/South Americans live in California and New York.

A comparison of whites, blacks, and Hispanics (as a group) suggests that Hispanics fare worse in the labor market than whites, but better than blacks. However, it is also important to recognize variations in the nature and severity of the problems experienced by the several Hispanic subgroups.

- o Puerto Rican men and women have lower labor force participation rates and higher unemployment rates than any race or Hispanic-origin group. Forty percent of Puerto Rican households (on the mainland) are headed by women.
- o Mexican-American men have the lowest wage rates and smallest proportion employed in white-collar jobs of any race or Hispanic-origin group. Mexican-American women have unemployment rates as high as Puerto Rican women's and their income level is as low as black women's.
- o Cuban-Americans and Central and South Americans in the U.S. have high participation rates and income levels relative to the other Hispanic groups.

Issues in Improving the Labor Market Position of Hispanic-Americans

A lack of proficiency in English and low levels of education are major sources of the labor market difficulties of Hispanic-Americans. These factors, operating separately and in combination, are largely responsible for their weak position in the labor market. Discrimination in the labor market further contributes to their weak position.

Weak English language skills are a problem among Hispanic adults and youth, and are the most important source of their poor labor market position. In this context, fluency in English means not only how well a person speaks and understands English but also the frequency of personal interaction with the English-speaking population. Almost 15 percent of Hispanic adults (immigrant and U.S.-born combined) speak only Spanish and up to 45 percent may have difficulties with English. These language difficulties reduce Hispanic men's wages and occupational position, and Hispanic women's labor force participation.

The educational problem extends through both elementary and secondary schools. Hispanic youth are substantially more likely than black or white youth to be held back and to drop out of school before graduation. The problem is severe: for example, recent data indicate that some 40 percent of 20 to 24 year-old Mexican-Americans and about 50 percent of mainland Puerto Ricans did not graduate from high school. This contrasts with 14 percent among whites and 25 percent among blacks. Moreover, the importance of this problem may increase with time, since the Hispanic population is relatively young and growing. Fifty percent of this population is under 22. Hispanic youth currently comprise 7.7 percent of all 15 to 19 year-olds. Projections of the present preschool population indicate that by the 1990's, they will be about 10 percent of the 15 to 19 year-old group.

An inadequate ability to speak and understand English is a major reason for the educational problems of Hispanic youth. About 70 percent of Hispanic young people, age 5 to 14, who have been raised in Spanish-speaking homes are of limited English proficiency. Court rulings, legislative and executive initiatives, and the education community's literature indicate the need for programs that are sensitive to language-minority students. While many different programs are implemented nationally, there is no consensus regarding the specific approach that individual schools should adopt. However, to be effective, programs must take into account the age, socioeconomic background, and educational needs of the students and they must have sufficient teaching materials and adequately trained staffs. Puerto Rican youth are of special concern since they migrate between two school systems and two labor markets, one predominantly English speaking, the other, Spanish speaking.

Preventive strategies are essential to improving Hispanics' labor market position. Clearly articulated policies and programs at all levels of government that link education and training are needed. Also, in the area of education specifically, among the budgetary choices to be made at all levels of government, priority should be given to improving the achievement of educationally disadvantaged youth. This includes establishing and implementing programs for Hispanic young people that are effective in meeting both their language and basic educational and skill needs. A person generally must be able to use English to obtain a job. It is a critical part of getting a better job.

Teaching people a second language, as well as providing them (in some cases) with either an occupation-specific skill or basic education, can be costly. Such training, however,

may be essential to improve long-term earnings. Performance criteria that use cost-per-placement figures bias training programs against serving people who lack both proficiency in English and either a basic education or a job-specific skill. The National Commission for Employment Policy reaffirms its position* that increases in a person's long-term earnings are a preferred performance criterion for Federal training programs.

Improvements in the economic position of persons already employed, but in low-skill, low-paying jobs are also important. Employed Hispanic-Americans are likely to be in low-paying positions.

Discrimination against Hispanic-Americans in the labor market is also a reason for their poor economic position. The precise form of this discrimination is difficult to determine, but it includes biases against people on the basis of race, color, or Hispanic origin. Discrimination on the basis of Hispanic origin includes biases against persons with Spanish surnames, who speak Spanish, or who speak English with a Spanish accent. An important law in this area is title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibits employment discrimination on the basis of national origin. Under current regulations this includes individuals' or their ancestors' place of origin, and individuals' physical, cultural, or linguistic characteristics.

To understand the full nature and sources of a group's labor market position, good data are necessary. Several problems exist with current data on Hispanic-Americans.

First, the definition of Hispanic-Americans is not consistent among different data sources or over time within the same source.

Second, complete labor force statistics for the Puerto Rican island population are not currently included in the national reporting system. Also, the numbers and characteristics of Puerto Ricans who migrate between the island and the mainland can only be inferred from existing data on airline passenger traffic. Without this information, it is difficult to understand the market position of all Puerto Ricans and to plan for the likely future employment and training needs of either the island or the mainland population.

*Statement by Kenneth M. Smith, Chairman, National Commission for Employment Policy, before the Subcommittee on Employment and Productivity and the Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities (March 15, 1982).

Third, there is no reliable information on labor market position and problems of the approximately 125,000 Cuban Mariel refugees. Existing data suggest that a substantial number are jobless.*

Hispanic-Americans are a growing part of the U.S. population. In 1980, they comprised 6 percent of persons 15 to 64 years old. By the 1990's, the Hispanic-American population will comprise at least 8 percent of persons of working age. As the Hispanic population grows in importance, the need to improve their labor market position will become more critical.

*Various laws and policies distinguish between "refugees" and "entrants" for legal reasons. We include "entrants" in our use of the word "refugees."

Staff Report
on
Hispanic-Americans
in the Labor Market

PREFACE

This report was prepared for the members of the National Commission for Employment Policy as part of its study on the position of Hispanics in the American labor market. At the outset of the project we found that there were many opinions about the problems of Hispanics, but little information to support them. The Commission wanted to understand the dimensions of their problems, the reasons for Hispanics' difficulties, and whether their problems are different from other groups. The increasing size of the Hispanic population in the U.S. gave added importance to this topic.

As its first step, the Commission established a Hispanic Advisory Committee (listed in appendix A). Pedro Ruiz Garza chaired this committee during the development of issues and planning of work. Over the course of the project, the committee members assisted the Commissioners and staff in highlighting areas of concern, identifying new and ongoing research, and reviewing the Commission's findings. Commissioner Roberto Cambo chaired the committee through the completion of the project.

Information for the project was obtained from several sources: a review of the literature on the topic, Commission-sponsored research projects to fill gaps in the state of knowledge on Hispanics' problems of employment and earnings, and discussions with key Congressional and Federal agency staff, and many national Hispanic organizations. In addition, the Commission sponsored a conference in February 1982, at the University of California, Santa Barbara, to examine recent technical research on the problems of Hispanics in the American economy and society, and a conference, in Washington, D.C. in March 1982, to explore policies for improving Hispanics' position in the labor market. The agendas of these conferences are given in appendixes B and C of this report.

Carol Jusenius coordinated the Commission's activities in this area; she and Virgulino L. Duarte are the authors of this report. Bill Avila provided valuable assistance in the initial stages of the project and Laura von Behren edited and produced this volume.

PATRICIA W. HOGUE
Director

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Hispanic-Americans are a sizeable and growing part of the U.S. population. Many have problems finding good jobs and earning a decent income even in prosperous times. The dimensions of their difficulties are often hidden by figures on the position of all Hispanic-Americans, since the type of problem differs among Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban-Americans, and persons from Central and South America. For some, finding work is a severe problem; for others, low pay is the major issue.

At the same time, Hispanics generally experience common barriers to labor market success: lack of proficiency in English, low levels of formal schooling, and discrimination. Difficulties communicating in English directly reduce their prospects for good jobs, impede their educational attainment, and operate as a vehicle for labor market discrimination.

Characteristics of Hispanics

The 1980 census estimates that there are 14.6 Hispanic-Americans living on the U.S. mainland and another 3.2 million in Puerto Rico. They are 6.5 percent of the population on the mainland, up from 4.5 percent a decade ago.

Hispanics differ from the rest of the U.S. population in several important ways.

- o Hispanics are geographically concentrated in a few States. Two-thirds live in California, New York, Texas, and Florida; less than one-third of the total population lives in these States.
- o Hispanics are more likely than the rest of the population to be immigrants. In 1970, about 1 out of every 4 Hispanics was foreign born, compared to 1 out of 20 in the total population.
- o Hispanic adults have fewer years of schooling than either whites or blacks. Among persons over age 25 (when most people have finished their schooling), half of the Hispanic population has completed fewer than 11 years of schooling, about 2 years less than whites, and 1 1/2 years less than blacks.
- o Many Hispanic adults, whether native or immigrant, have problems communicating in English. Almost 15 percent of those 21 years or older speak only Spanish and almost 30 percent consider Spanish to be their major language.

- o Hispanics are a young population. Half are under age 24 and almost one-third are under age 15. Half of the white population is under age 31 and about 20 percent are under age 15.
- o Many Hispanic youth leave school before graduation. Their dropout rate is about 1 1/2 times that of blacks and almost 3 times that of whites.
- o Many Hispanic youth have problems with English. About 70 percent of those age 5 to 14 (or 1.7 million children) who have been raised in Spanish-speaking homes have limited proficiency in English.

The experiences of Hispanics in the job market differ from those of blacks and whites.

- o The rate of participation in the labor force among Hispanic men is as high as that of whites and above that of blacks. Hispanic and white women have about the same rate of participation, which is below that of black women. Hispanic youth participate in the job market at a rate below that of whites but above that of blacks.
- o The unemployment rates of Hispanic men, women, and youth are above those of whites, but below those of blacks.
- o Hispanics are more likely to be in blue-collar jobs than either whites or blacks.
- o Hispanic men earn less per hour than black or white men. All groups of women earn less than men and Hispanic women earn the least per hour among women.
- o The annual income of Hispanics is between that of blacks and whites.

The Diversity of the Hispanic Population

The majority of Hispanics on the mainland are Mexican-Americans (60 percent). Fourteen percent are Puerto Rican, 6 percent are Cuban-American, 8 percent are from Central and South America, and 12 percent are "other Spanish." This last group includes persons of mixed Hispanic background.

Because most Hispanics are Mexican-American, statistics on Hispanics as a group largely reflect the experiences of Mexican-Americans and tend to obscure trends and problems of the other groups. The several groups of Hispanics differ in important ways.

- o They are located in a few widely separated regions of the U.S. with different rates of economic growth and different occupation/industry mixes. In general, Mexican-Americans are located in the Southwest; Puerto Ricans on the mainland live mainly in the Northeast; and most Cuban-Americans in Florida.
- o The groups became citizens in different ways and at different times. Mexicans' land was annexed by the U.S. in the mid-1840's. By 1970, about 50 percent were at least second-generation Americans and less than 20 percent were immigrants. Puerto Ricans also became Americans when the island was annexed by the U.S. in 1898. A unique characteristic of this group is their frequent migration between the Spanish-speaking island and the English-speaking mainland. The vast majority of Cubans are immigrants and children of immigrants who began arriving in the U.S. in the early 1960's. Most Central/South Americans are also recent immigrants.
- o Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans are, on average, a young population. Their median age is 22 years, 8 years below the median age of non-Hispanics. By contrast, Cuban-Americans are a relatively old group; their median age is 36 years.
- o Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans have a low level of education. Those over 25 years old have a median education of 9 and 10 school years, respectively. The comparable figure is about 12 1/2 years for the total U.S. population. The low levels of education are partly due to the lack of schooling of immigrants, who comprise a larger proportion of these groups than of the nonHispanic population. However, native Mexican-Americans and mainland-born Puerto Ricans average at least 1 year less of schooling than white non-Hispanics of the same age. By contrast, Cubans are a well-educated group. Their median formal education is about the same as that of the non-Hispanic population.

Due to their different characteristics, the Hispanic groups have different experiences in the job market.

- o Difficulties finding work--as indicated by low rates of participation in the labor force and high rates of unemployment--are especially severe for Puerto Rican men and women both on the island and on the mainland. By these two measures they fare no better than blacks.

- o Mexican-American men have the largest proportion in blue-collar jobs and they earn less per hour than any other group of men. Mexican-American women have high rates of unemployment and earn less than the other groups of Hispanic and non-Hispanic men and women.
- o Compared to the other Hispanic groups, Cuban men and women do well in the labor market: their participation in the labor force is high, unemployment is low, and their median personal income is also high. On the other hand, their income position is substantially below that of non-Hispanic whites. Also, these figures exclude a large number of Cubans--the recent Mariel refugees, of whom a substantial number are jobless.

Reasons for Hispanics' Problems in the Job Market

Determining the reasons for Hispanics' difficulties in the labor market is an empirical problem. The goal is to disentangle the effects (for example, on wages) of various characteristics such as location, immigrant status, age, education, and proficiency in English.

Research shows that while the several groups experience different labor market problems, the major causes are the same: lack of proficiency in English, low levels of formal schooling, and discrimination in the labor market. In this context, "lack of proficiency in English" means not only a limited ability to speak and understand the language, but also an infrequent use of English.

Research also suggests that the Hispanic groups are treated differently in the job market. However, due to Hispanics' widely scattered locations and to limited data, it is not possible to determine whether these differences reflect the effects of (1) belonging to a particular Hispanic group or (2) living and working in a particular place.

- o In general, Hispanic men who have problems with English earn less than those who are proficient. Language difficulties for women are associated, on average, with reduced participation in the labor force. Language is also associated with reduced earnings among women who have 12 or more years of education.
- o Hispanics' low levels of education, operating separately and in combination with their language problems, are another important reason for their low wages and poor occupational position. Lack of formal schooling has a particularly strong effect on the wages of Mexican-American men and women.

- o Language deficiencies are one vehicle through which discrimination against Hispanics occurs in the labor market. Even among men with similar language problems, Hispanics are in lower-paying occupations than non-Hispanics. Evidence indicates that discrimination against Hispanic men on the basis of their ethnic, as well as their linguistic, characteristics contributes to their low wages, although its severity varies among the several groups of Hispanic men. Discrimination has not been found to be a cause of differences in pay between Hispanic and non-Hispanic women.

Government Actions to Improve Hispanics' Position

There have been several important governmental actions that seek to reduce Hispanics' problems in the job market. Bilingual education was designed to help all language minorities, but it is considered by the Hispanic community to have been a major instrument of the Federal Government to help Hispanics enter the American mainstream. Federal training programs are also considered here.

Bilingual Education

- o Over the past two decades the Federal Government has supported educational programs sensitive to the needs of young people whose first language is not English. The three major components of this support are title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, and the Supreme Court's 1974 decision in Lau v. Nichols. The Supreme Court ruled that students whose first language is not English do not receive an education free from unlawful discrimination if they are instructed in English, without regard to their language difficulties.
- o There are several approaches to teaching language-minority students: English as a second language, transitional bilingual, bilingual bicultural, and structured immersion. The goal of each program is to teach English to the students while continuing their education in other subject areas. Bilingual bicultural programs give equal emphasis to parallel development of the students' own languages and cultures.
- o There are examples of successful projects for each of these approaches, but there is no consensus regarding which program works best. The literature does show that to be effective, individual programs should consider the students' age, social background, and educational needs. Also, the programs must have sufficient teaching materials and adequately trained staffs.

Federally Sponsored Training Programs

- o Federally sponsored training programs, such as those authorized by the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 (CETA), are available to economically disadvantaged persons who wish to improve their skills. In general, more Hispanics participated in CETA training programs than would be expected on the basis of their proportion of the national eligible population.
- o The services and treatment Hispanics received did not differ from that of blacks and whites, once differences in program-relevant characteristics were taken into account. However, Hispanic women were more likely than men to be training for (or working in) low-paying jobs.
- o Analyses of all racial and ethnic groups of participants indicate that after completing the training program, men's yearly earnings did not increase above those of otherwise similar men who had not been in a training program. Women's yearly earnings rose above those of the comparison group, largely due to higher levels of employment, and somewhat to higher wages.

INTRODUCTION

Hispanic-Americans are a sizeable and growing part of the population of the United States. The 1980 census estimated that there are 14.6 million persons of Spanish origin on the U.S. mainland and another 3.2 million on the island of Puerto Rico.¹ They represent almost 6 1/2 percent of the mainland population, up from 4 1/2 percent a decade ago. They constitute 6 percent of the working-age population and by the mid-1990's that proportion should reach at least 8 percent.²

While Hispanics represent a significant and increasing part of the working-age population, many have difficulties finding jobs and earning decent incomes even in prosperous times. For example, in 1974 when the Nation's unemployment rate was below 6 percent, their rate of unemployment was about 8 percent. In 1979 at least one out of every five Hispanic families was in poverty.³ More recently, in 1981 when the unemployment rate for the Nation was about 7 1/2 percent, Hispanics' unemployment rate was over 10 percent.

Figures on the Hispanic population as a whole provide a useful overview. At the same time, they mask the different types of problems experienced by the individual Spanish-origin groups. Puerto Ricans have difficulties finding work. In 1981 their unemployment rate was close to 14 percent, only slightly below that of blacks (15 1/2 percent). Further, the unemployment rate among Puerto Rican youth (42 percent) was as high as that found among black teenagers. Low wages are the major problem for Mexican-Americans. They average less per hour than either blacks or any other Spanish-origin group.

Awareness of the problems of Hispanics has increased over the past decade. However, the data necessary for a full examination of their difficulties were only collected toward the end of the 1970's. Further, solid research documenting the sources of Hispanics' problems has only been undertaken in the past 2 years. Most of this research has been sponsored by the National Commission for Employment Policy and by the Employment and Training Administration, U.S. Department of Labor. Thus, only now are reliable analyses of Hispanics' condition available.

Chapter 1 of this report gives an overview of the Hispanic population. It describes the characteristics of the group that differentiate it from the rest of the U.S. population. The chapter also discusses the ways in which Hispanics' experiences in the labor market differ from those of other groups. Chapter 2 looks at the diversity within the Spanish-origin population. It shows how the different groups--Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban-Americans, and Central and South Americans--vary among

themselves in both their characteristics and their problems in the labor market. Chapter 3 links the information given in chapters 1 and 2. It reviews the research that allows us--within limits--to identify those characteristics of Hispanic-Americans that are important to understanding why all Hispanics, and individual Hispanic groups, have problems finding work and earning decent wages. Finally, chapter 4 reviews two government actions that have sought to improve the economic position of Hispanic-Americans.

Notes

1. There are several problems with available statistics on Hispanics. They include: (1) differences in the definition of Hispanics among data sources and over time within the same source, (2) a lack of complete information on the labor force in Puerto Rico and on Puerto Rican migrants between the island and the mainland, and (3) a lack of data on the number and characteristics of immigrants (including illegal immigrants) to, and emigrants from, the United States.

Because of these problems it is not possible to examine fully all the dimensions of Hispanics' problems in the job market. For example, precise documentation of historical trends is limited to those years when there were no changes in the definition of Hispanics in official data sources.

The precise nature of the data problems are given in appendix D. A more complete discussion is found in Douglas S. Massey, "The Demographic and Economic Position of Hispanics in the U.S.: The Decade of the 1970's" and "Patterns and Effects of Hispanic Immigration to the U.S.," NCEP-sponsored research, Summer 1982.

2. For alternative projections of the size of the Hispanic-American population, see Massey, "Patterns and Effects."

3. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 354, "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1979," Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980, Table 32.

Chapter 1

HISPANIC-AMERICANS: HOW THEY DIFFER FROM OTHER GROUPS

The Hispanic population in the United States differs from the rest of the population in several ways. This chapter describes these differences and shows that Hispanics as a whole have a different set of experiences in the labor market than both blacks and whites.

Hispanics' Characteristics¹

- o Hispanics are geographically concentrated in a few States. Two-thirds live in four States: California, Texas, New York, and Florida, while less than one-third of the total U.S. population lives in these States.
- o Hispanics are an urban population. Eighty-three percent of them, compared to 66 percent of the white population, and 77 percent of the black population, live in metropolitan areas.
- o Hispanics are more likely than the general population to be immigrants. In 1970 about 24 percent of Hispanics were foreign born while only about 5 percent of the total United States population were immigrants.
- o Hispanics have fewer years of formal schooling than both whites and blacks. Among persons above age 25 (when most people have finished school), half of the Hispanic population has completed fewer than 11 years of schooling--about 2 years less than whites and 1 1/2 years less than blacks. This relatively low level of formal education among Hispanics is partly due to the lack of schooling of immigrants; however, even native-born Hispanics average about 1 year less schooling than whites.
- o Many Hispanic adults have difficulties communicating in English. Fourteen percent of those 21 years or older speak only Spanish; another 29 percent normally use Spanish. While this language problem exists primarily among immigrants, up to 25 percent of Hispanic-Americans born in the United States may have difficulties with English.²
- o Hispanics are young. Half are under age 24 and almost one-third are under 15 years old. Half of the black population is under 25, and less than 30 percent are under age 15. Fifty percent of all whites are under 31 years and only about one-fifth are under age 15. Rough esti-

mates suggest that Hispanic youth, who currently comprise over 7 1/2 percent of all 15 to 19 year-olds, will constitute at least 10 percent of this age group by the mid-1990's.

- o Many Hispanic young people do not finish school. Among those 20 to 24, the school dropout rate is almost three times that found among whites, and one-and-a-half times that found among blacks.³
- o Many Hispanic young people have problems with English. About 70 percent of the children (aged 5 to 14) who live in households where Spanish is spoken are likely to have limited proficiency in English.⁴ This amounts to 1.7 million young people. Estimates suggest that up to 46 percent of those 14 to 21 years old may have difficulties with English.⁵

Hispanics' Experiences in the Job Market⁶

To understand the position of Hispanics in the labor market, it is necessary to look at several indicators:⁷

- o labor force participation rate
- o unemployment rate
- o distribution among occupations
- o wages
- o income

Comparisons of Hispanics with blacks and whites reveal that in several ways Hispanics in the work force fare better than blacks, but worse than whites. Table 1 shows recent data on the first two of the indicators given above: the rate of participation in the labor force and the rate of unemployment.

The participation rate is the percentage of the population that is either employed or without work but actively seeking it. It may be interpreted as a measure of attachment to the work force; such attachment is important because most people's income comes from employment.

The labor force participation rate of Hispanic men is higher than that of both white and black men. In 1980 and 1981, about 85 percent of Hispanic men, 20 years or older, were in the work force, compared to 80 percent of white, and 75 percent of black, adult men. Hispanic and white women over 20 years old had about the same rate of participation--50 percent--somewhat below that

Table 1

Civilian Labor Force Participation Rates
and Unemployment Rates of Hispanics, Whites,
and Blacks, 1980 and 1981

Race/ National Origin	Civilian Labor Force			
	Participation Rate		Unemployment Rate	
	1980	1981	1980	1981
Men, 20 years and older				
Hispanic	85.2	84.8	8.3	8.8
White	79.9	79.6	5.2	5.6
Black	74.7	74.1	12.2	13.3
Women, 20 years and older				
Hispanic	48.8	49.9	9.2	9.5
White	50.8	51.7	5.6	5.9
Black	55.6	56.0	11.7	13.4
Both Sexes, 16-19 years				
Hispanic	50.5	46.3	22.5	24.1
White	60.1	59.0	15.5	17.3
Black	38.7	37.4	38.6	41.5

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment, and Earnings, January 1982, Table 44.

of black women (56 percent). The rate of participation among Hispanic youth was below that of whites but above that of blacks. In 1981, for example, 46 percent of Hispanic young people age 16 to 19 were in the work force; the rate for white youth was close to 60 percent, and for black youth, 37 percent.

The unemployment rate is the share of the labor force that is without work, but actively looking for it. It measures a group's success in finding jobs. Hispanics' unemployment rate is above that of whites but below that of blacks. In 1981 for instance, the unemployment rate of white men was 5.6 percent, almost 9 percent among Hispanic men, and above 13 percent among black men. White women had an unemployment rate just under 6 percent; Hispanic women's unemployment rate was 9 1/2 percent; it was above 13 percent for blacks. Black youth had the highest unemployment rate of all the groups--over 40 percent. Hispanic youth had the next highest rate (24 percent) and white youths' unemployment rate was 17 percent.

Statistics on wages and occupations indicate the economic success of those who are employed. Income--which includes earnings from jobs, unemployment compensation, transfer payments, and interest--is an indicator of a group's (or individual's) economic well-being. Tables 2 and 3 present data on the occupations, wages, and income of the three racial/ethnic groups.

Hispanic men have the smallest proportion of white-collar jobs (table 2). While forty-two percent of white men hold such positions, only 27 percent of blacks, and 24 percent of Hispanics hold these jobs. Hispanic men are likely to be in blue-collar work; almost 60 percent have blue-collar jobs, compared to 54 percent of black men, and 46 percent of white men. Hispanic and white men have about the same proportions in agricultural work (4.2 and 4.6 percent, respectively) although, in general, whites work as farmers and farm managers while Hispanics are laborers and supervisors.

Hispanic men earn slightly less than black men and both groups earn considerably less than white men. In 1975, white men earned about \$6.00 per hour, on average, while blacks averaged \$4.65 an hour, and Hispanics, less than \$4.60 per hour.

Hispanic men have an annual income higher than blacks but lower than whites. Hispanic men's median income was a little over \$9,000 in 1979; the median annual income for white men was over \$12,000, and for black men, under \$8,000.

Hispanic women, like Hispanic men, are more heavily concentrated than whites or blacks in blue-collar jobs. Almost 30 percent are found in blue-collar work; 19 percent of black women and 14 percent of white women are in these jobs. Further, Hispanic women are concentrated in one blue-collar occupation, operatives (machine operators). One-quarter all of employed Hispanic women hold such positions.

Table 2

Occupational Distribution, Average
Hourly Wage and Median Income of
Hispanic, White, and Black Men

	Total Hispanic	White	Black
<u>Total</u>			
No. Employed, 1979 ^a (Thousands)	2,704	49,893	5,599
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>White Collar</u>	23.6	42.4	26.7
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers	7.6	15.3	9.8
Managers and Administrators excl. Farm	6.6	14.8	6.5
Sales	3.2	6.3	2.6
Clerical and Kindred Workers	6.2	6.0	7.8
<u>Blue Collar</u>	58.5	45.6	53.6
Craft and Kindred Workers	20.9	21.7	15.4
Operatives	25.5	17.0	24.6
Laborers, excl. Farm	11.7	7.0	13.6
Farmers and Farm Managers	0.2	4.2	3.9
Farm Laborers and Supervisors	4.7	-	-
Service Workers	13.4	7.8	15.9
Average Hourly Wages, 1975 ^b	\$4.58	\$5.97	\$4.65
Median Annual Income, 1979 ^c	\$9,236	\$12,357	\$7,745

a. Men 16 years or older.

b. Men 14 years or older, working for a wage or salary.

c. Men 14 years or older, who had an income.

SOURCE: National Commission for Employment Policy, Increasing the Earnings of Disadvantaged Women, Report No. 11 (Washington, D.C.: NCEP, January 1981); Massey, "The Demographic and Economic Position;" and Cordelia Reimers, "A Comparative Analysis of the Wages of Hispanic, Black, and White American Men," paper presented at the Hispanic Labor Conference, sponsored by the NCEP, Santa Barbara, California, February 4-5, 1982.

Table 3

Occupational Distribution, Average
Hourly Wage, and Median Income of
Hispanic, White, and Black Women

	Total Hispanic	White	Black
<u>Total</u>			
No. Employed, 1979 ^a (Thousands)	1,677	33,943	4,938
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>White Collar</u>	48.2	65.5	47.1
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers	7.5	15.9	13.8
Managers and Administrators, excl. Farm	3.7	6.5	2.9
Sales	5.3	7.4	3.1
Clerical and Kindred Workers	31.7	35.7	27.2
<u>Blue Collar</u>	28.4	14.3	18.6
Craft and Kindred Workers	2.1	1.9	1.3
Operatives	25.2	11.2	15.8
Laborers excl. Farm	1.1	1.2	1.4
Farmers and Farm Managers	-	1.4	0.9
Farm Laborers and Supervisors	1.5	-	-
Service Workers	21.8	18.8	33.4
Average Hourly Wage, 1975 ^b	\$3.03	\$3.67	\$3.46
Median Annual Income, 1979 ^c	\$4,161	\$4,394	\$4,023

a. Women 16 years or older.

b. Women 14 years or older, working for a wage or salary.

c. Women 14 years or older, who had an income.

SOURCE: National Commission for Employment Policy, Increasing the Earnings of Disadvantaged Women; Massey, "The Demographic and Economic Position;" and Cordelia Reimers, "Wage Differences Among Hispanic, Black and Anglo Women," paper presented at the meetings of the Eastern Economic Association, Washington, D.C., April 29-May 1, 1982.

All employed women earn less per hour than men and have lower annual incomes. Hispanic women earn the least of any group; in 1975 they averaged about \$3.00 per hour. Black women earned, on average, almost \$3.50 an hour, and white women earned close to \$3.70.

The differences in annual income among the three groups of women are small. In 1979 the median income of white women was almost \$4,400; Hispanic women, about \$4,200; and black women, almost \$4,000.

Summary

This chapter has shown that Hispanic-Americans, as a group, differ from the rest of the U.S. population. Hispanics are more geographically concentrated; they are more likely to be immigrants than the overall population; and, whether immigrant or native born, relatively more Hispanic adults have few years of formal schooling and lack fluency in English. Also, young people comprise a larger share of the Hispanic community than do young people of other groups. More Hispanic than black or white youth drop out of school and lack proficiency in English.

Hispanics' experiences in the job market also differ from those of other groups. In terms of unemployment and annual income, Hispanics fare worse in the labor market than whites, but better than blacks. However, Hispanic-Americans are more likely to be in blue-collar jobs and earn lower wages than either whites or blacks.

The next chapter looks at the diversity within the Hispanic-American population. This examination is important. Because Mexican-Americans constitute 60 percent of the Hispanic population, statistics on all Hispanics largely reflect the experiences of this one group and tend to obscure trends and problems of the other groups. Further, the several Spanish-origin groups--Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, Cuban-American, and Central/South American--differ in important ways.

Notes

1. This section is based largely on Massey, "The Demographic and Economic Position" and Massey, "Patterns and Effects."
2. These figures come from special tabulations of the 1976 Survey of Income and Education. More detailed data on language proficiency are given in table 5.
3. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 356, "Educational Attainment in the United States: March 1979 and 1978," Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980, table 1.

4. J. Michael O'Malley, Children's English and Services Study: Language Minority Children with Limited English Proficiency in the United States (Rosslyn, Va.: InterAmerican Research Associates, Inc., National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1981).

5. Special tabulations from the 1976 Survey of Income and Education.

6. See also the discussion of problems with the data on Hispanic-Americans given in appendix D.

7. Data on the distribution of Hispanics among industries are given in appendix E.

Chapter 2

HISPANIC-AMERICANS: A DIVERSE POPULATION

Most of the 14.6 million Hispanics on the mainland are Mexican-American (60 percent), followed in number by Puerto Ricans (14 percent), "other Spanish" (12 percent), Central and South Americans (8 percent), and Cuban-Americans (6 percent). If the 3.2 million Puerto Ricans on the island are added to the mainland Hispanic population, then Mexican-Americans are half of the total; Puerto Ricans, almost 30 percent; Central and South Americans, about 6 1/2 percent; Cuban-Americans, less than 5 percent; and the "other Spanish" comprise almost 10 percent of all Hispanic-Americans.

The "other Spanish" are a diverse group. Some are at least third- or fourth-generation Americans who do not identify with any particular country of origin. Others are from Spain. Still others are the children of parents who have a mixed Spanish-origin background for example, Puerto Rican-Mexican. Because there is little information available on the precise composition of this group, persons of "other Spanish origin" are not discussed in this report.

Hispanics may be either white or black. Over 90 percent are classified as white by the U.S. Bureau of the Census.¹

The Hispanic groups have very different histories of immigration and settlement in the United States and they differ in their educational backgrounds and demographic characteristics as well. This chapter describes the diversity of the Hispanic groups and shows the variations in their experiences in the job market. The discussion centers around Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban-Americans, because data limitations often preclude presenting information on Central/South Americans or, as noted above, "other Spanish."

Characteristics of the Hispanic Groups

Geographic Location

The Hispanic groups are geographically concentrated in a few widely separated parts of the United States. Almost 90 percent of Mexican-Americans live in the Southwest: southern California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado. Puerto Ricans who live on the mainland are in the Northeast: over 70 percent are in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The Cuban-American population is largely divided between two locations: about 60 percent are in Florida and almost a quarter are in the New York/New Jersey area. Finally, two-thirds of Central/South Americans live in California and New York.

Mexican-Americans are the least urban of the Hispanic groups, although 80 percent live in metropolitan areas and about half are inside central cities. Over 90 percent of both Puerto Ricans and Cuban-Americans live in metropolitan areas. The vast majority of Puerto Ricans live inside central cities while almost 60 percent of the Cubans live in suburban neighborhoods.

Immigration and Settlement in the United States

Hispanic groups became U.S. citizens in different ways and at different times.² Mexican-Americans have lived longest in the U.S. and are the oldest of the Hispanic-American groups. Cubans and Central/South Americans arrived most recently.

Some Mexicans became U.S. citizens when their land was annexed by the United States in the late 1840's. The 1850 census counted about 13,000 persons born in Mexico who were living in the U.S. and by 1880, there were approximately 68,000 persons of Mexican birth. The number of persons of Mexican origin living in this country increased until the 1930's. Largely due to high unemployment in the U.S. during that time, about 500,000 Mexicans were strongly encouraged to leave the country; many of them were forcibly expelled.³ The Mexican population in the U.S. declined between 1930 and 1940. The Bracero program, agreed upon by Mexico and the United States in 1942, permitted Mexicans to work in the U.S. temporarily (no more than 6 months). Immigration (both legal and illegal) began to increase after the program was phased out in the 1950's.

The 1970 census found that fewer than 20 percent of Mexican-Americans were immigrants. In addition to legal immigrants, undocumented workers have come from Mexico to the United States. While there are no reliable figures of their number, rough estimates suggest that between 4 and 6 million undocumented workers live in the U.S. About 60 percent are estimated to be from Mexico.⁴

Puerto Ricans became U.S. citizens through annexation of the island by the U.S. in 1898. Prior to World War II, there were only 70,000 Puerto Ricans living on the U.S. mainland. Aircraft converted to commercial use after the war lowered the cost of travel between the island and the mainland. As a result, since World War II the frequency of two-way migration between the Spanish-speaking island and the English-speaking mainland has increased. By 1970, over 800,000 Puerto Ricans were living on the mainland, 57 percent of whom were island born.

Most Cuban-Americans are immigrants (and children of immigrants) who began arriving in the United States in the early 1960's. The 1970 census reported that about 80 percent were born outside the U.S. These census data do not include those who came in the airlifts of the 1970's or the very recent "Mariel refugees."

Central and South Americans are a diverse group: some are from countries with large Indian populations, such as Guatemala. Others are from nations with more European backgrounds, such as Chile and Argentina. In general, Central and South Americans are recent immigrants. According to the 1970 census, one-quarter were foreign born. Recently, undocumented workers have come to the U.S. from such countries as El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala.⁵ However, their numbers are not known.

Education

Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans average fewer years of schooling than Cuban-Americans or "other Hispanics." Table 4 shows that the average educational level of Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans age 22 to 30 is between 10 and 11 years. Cuban-Americans of the same age average over 12 years of education.

The low levels of education found among Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans are partially due to the lack of formal schooling among Mexican immigrants and Puerto Rican migrants. However, even native-born Mexican-Americans and mainland-born Puerto Ricans generally have at least 1 year less formal education than Cuban-Americans.

A high proportion of youth, especially Mexican-American and Puerto Rican youth, do not finish high school. In 1978, 15 percent of whites, 27 percent of blacks, but 42 percent of Mexican-Americans and 52 percent of mainland Puerto Ricans aged 20 to 24 were not high school graduates.⁶ No national figures for Cuban-American youth exist, although there is some evidence that their dropout rate is becoming a problem in Dade County, Florida.⁷ Research sponsored by the NCEP suggests that Hispanics who do graduate from high school have as high a probability of attending college as non-Hispanics.⁸ However, the proportion who complete college is below that of the non-Hispanic population.⁹

English Language Proficiency

Table 5 shows the proportions of the Hispanic groups that (1) speak only English, (2) primarily use English, but also speak Spanish, (3) primarily use Spanish, but also speak English, and (4) speak only Spanish. The table also shows the proportions of native Americans and immigrants within each Hispanic group that have these different degrees of proficiency in English. These data come from the 1976 Survey of Income and Education in which people reported on their own fluency in English and Spanish.

Fourteen percent of Hispanic-Americans speak only Spanish and almost 30 percent consider Spanish their dominant language. Combining these two categories suggests that as many as 45 percent of the Hispanics in the U.S. may have difficulties with

Table 4

Average Years of Schooling Completed
Among White Non-Hispanics and Hispanics
by Age and Birthplace, 1976

Age and Nativity	White Non-Hispanic	Mexican- American	Puerto Rican ^a	Cuban- American	Other Hispanic
<u>22-30</u>	13.2	10.8	10.4	12.3	12.2
Native	13.2	11.5	12.0	14.3	12.6
Nonnative	12.9	8.4	10.0	12.2	11.5
<u>31-50</u>	12.5	9.0	8.7	11.2	11.1
Native	12.5	9.7	11.5	12.8	11.1
Nonnative	11.9	6.7	8.2	11.2	11.1
<u>51 +</u>	10.7	5.8	6.3	9.1	8.6
Native	10.9	6.1	6.3	7.9	8.6
Nonnative	9.1	5.1	6.3	9.1	8.7

a. Island-born Puerto Ricans are defined as nonnative.

SOURCE: 1976 Survey of Income and Education, special tabulations.

Table 5

Distribution of Hispanics Aged 22-51^a
Across English-Language Usage Categories^a
by Place of Birth, 1976

Place of Birth	Total Percent	English Only	English Dominant	Spanish Dominant	Spanish Only
Total Hispanic					
Total	100.0	23.1	34.5	28.5	14.0
U.S. Native	100.0	32.2	42.1	21.3	4.4
Nonnative	100.0	9.0	22.7	39.6	28.8
Mexican-American					
Total	100.0	20.9	40.1	26.0	13.0
U.S. Native	100.0	26.2	46.3	22.3	5.1
Nonnative	100.0	6.1	22.6	36.1	35.1
Puerto Rican					
Total	100.0	13.8	27.1	40.8	18.3
U.S. Native	100.0	50.7	28.9	19.1	1.3
Nonnative ^b	100.0	6.3	26.8	45.2	21.7
Cuban-Americans					
Total	100.1	6.4	13.6	47.4	32.6
U.S. Native	100.0	50.0	25.0	18.8	6.3
Nonnative	100.0	4.8	13.2	48.5	33.5
Other Hispanic Origin					
Total	100.0	35.7	30.6	24.0	9.8
U.S. Native	100.0	44.2	33.8	19.1	3.0
Nonnative	100.0	19.3	24.5	33.4	22.9

a. "English only" includes persons whose usual household language is English and speak no other language in the home; "Spanish only" is defined in a similar fashion. English-dominant persons include those whose usual household language is English and also often use Spanish; Spanish-dominant persons include those whose usual household language is Spanish and often use English.

b. Puerto Ricans born on the island are termed here "nonnative."

SOURCE: 1976 Survey of Income and Education, special tabulations.

English. At the same time, there are differences (1) between immigrants and natives and (2) among the Hispanic groups in the extent to which they use English. Only about 20 percent of Cuban-Americans speak only English or are English dominant. In comparison, some 60 percent of Mexican-Americans and about 40 percent of Puerto Ricans either use only English or are English dominant.

Within each Hispanic group, immigrants are less likely to consider English to be their primary language. For example, one-third of Puerto Ricans born on the island, but over three-quarters of those born on the mainland, report English to be their major language. Still, sizeable numbers of native-born Hispanics are also not fully proficient in the language. As many as 25 percent of the native-born Mexican-Americans, and (as just mentioned) one-third of the mainland-born Puerto Ricans either speak only Spanish or are Spanish-dominant.

Age and Family Structure

The youthfulness of the Hispanic population as a whole primarily reflects the age structure of Mexican-Americans and of Puerto Ricans living on the mainland. The median age of these two groups is about 20 years, and about 40 percent are under 16 years old.

Cuban-Americans' median age is 36, 6 years older than the U.S. population as whole. Less than 25 percent of all Cuban-Americans are under 16. Although there are no exact figures, it appears that most of the recent Cuban refugees are in their early 30's.¹⁰

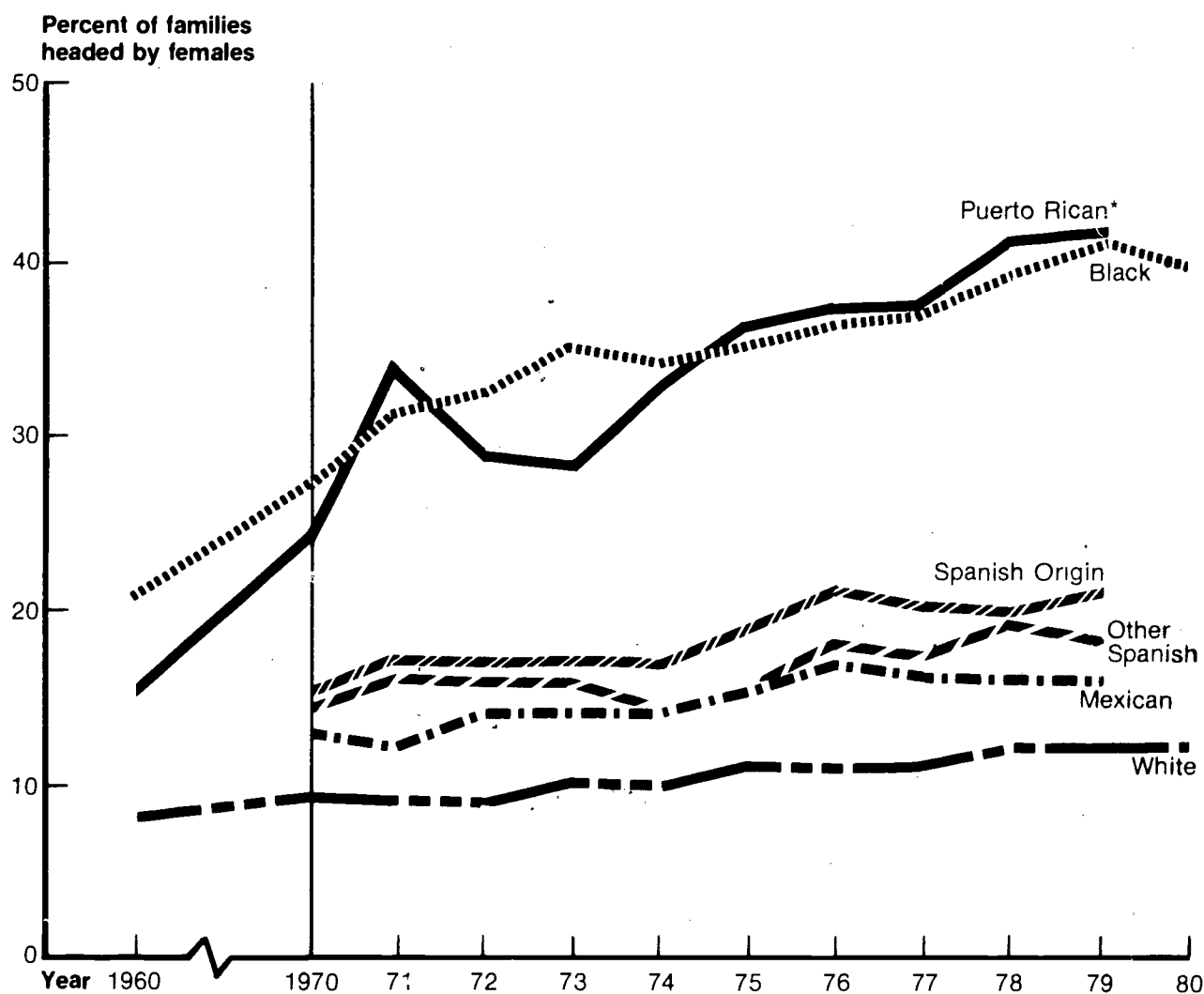
Central/South Americans are between these two extremes. Their median age is about 26, and one-third are under 16.

Diagram 1 shows the proportions of female-headed families and indicates another important difference among the Spanish-origin groups. Specifically, the proportion of Puerto Rican families headed by women has risen dramatically since 1960. Their experience has closely paralleled that of blacks; by the late 1970's, about 40 percent of Puerto Rican families on the mainland were headed by women.

Diversity of Experiences in the Job Market

Hispanics fare better than blacks, but worse than whites, on two important measures of success in the labor market--unemployment and income. However, this generalization obscures an important fact: each group has a different problem in the job market. Moreover, the relative positions of the groups have changed over the 1970's.

Diagram 1.
Percent of Female-headed Families by Race and Type of
Spanish Origin: 1960-1980



*In 1960 Puerto Ricans are identified on the basis of birth or parentage.

Source: Massey, *The Demographic and Economic Position*, Figure 6.3

This section looks at the situation of Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban-Americans, describing the positions of men and women separately. Data limitations preclude discussions of either Central/South Americans or the "other Spanish origin" group. For simplicity, the section is organized by job market indicators: rate of participation in the labor force, unemployment rate, occupational distribution, and wages and income.¹¹

Most of the statistics come from the Current Population Surveys, the official source of labor market data in the United States. The focus is on 1974 through 1978. In other years different methods were used to categorize people into one or the other of the Hispanic groups, making comparisons difficult.

Labor Force Participation Rates

Mexican-American men have the highest rate of participation in the labor force of the Hispanic groups (diagram 2). Throughout the seventies, 80 percent were in the work force. This was a little higher than the 77 percent of Cuban-Americans, whose rate is similar to whites.

Puerto Rican men's participation in the labor force is low and declining. In 1974, 75 percent of those on the mainland were in the work force; this proportion declined to 66 percent during the 1975-76 recession. After the recession, their participation rate rose, but not to its 1974 level. This pattern of gradual decline paralleled that found among black men.

Puerto Ricans on the island have been even less likely to be working or actively looking for work. While about two-thirds were in the work force in 1974, 4 years later their rate of participation was just over 60 percent.

Mexican-American women have been the major source of the increasing labor force participation rate found among Hispanic women as a group, but they are still less likely than whites or blacks to be in the work force (diagram 2). In 1974, 40 percent of Mexican-American women were in the labor force; by 1978, 47 percent were either employed or looking for work.

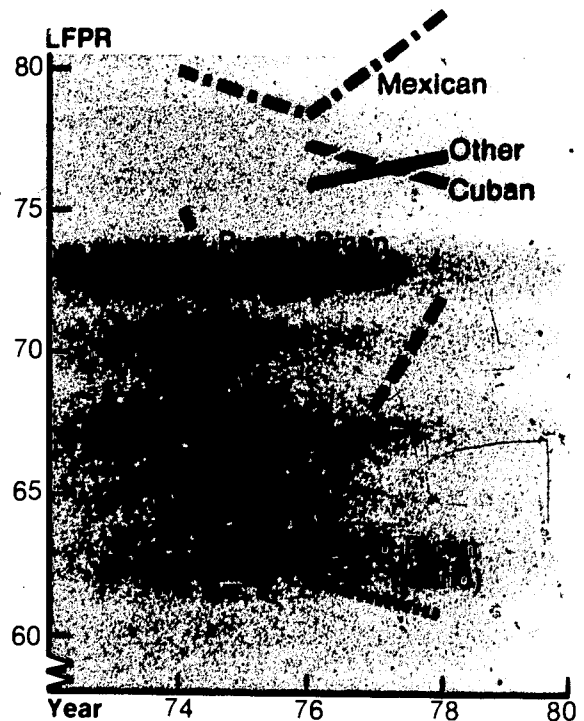
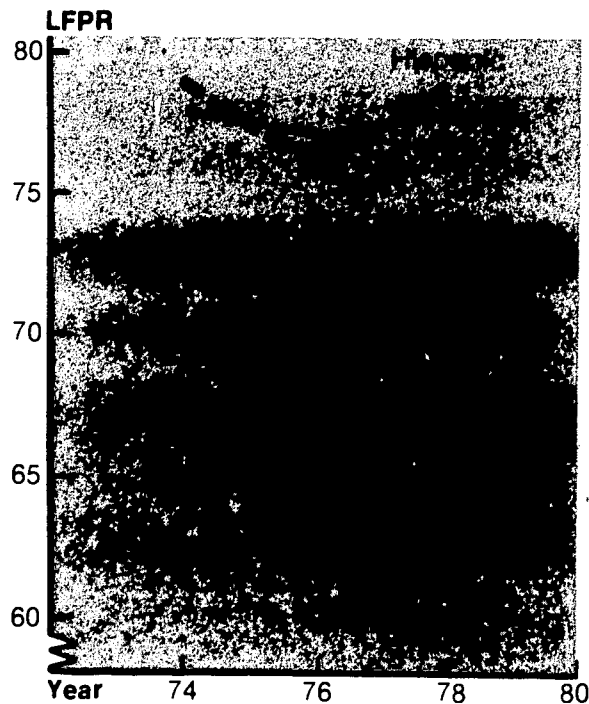
Cuban-American women have high and stable participation rates. Close to 50 percent have been in the work force for the past several years.

Puerto Rican women, like Puerto Rican men, have low and declining participation rates. Whether on the mainland or the island, about one-third were in the labor force in the early 1970's and by the close of the decade an even smaller proportion was working or looking for work.

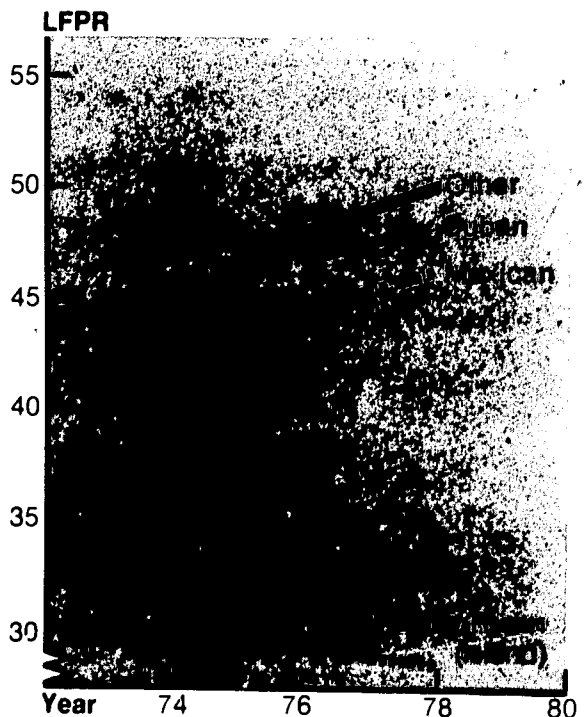
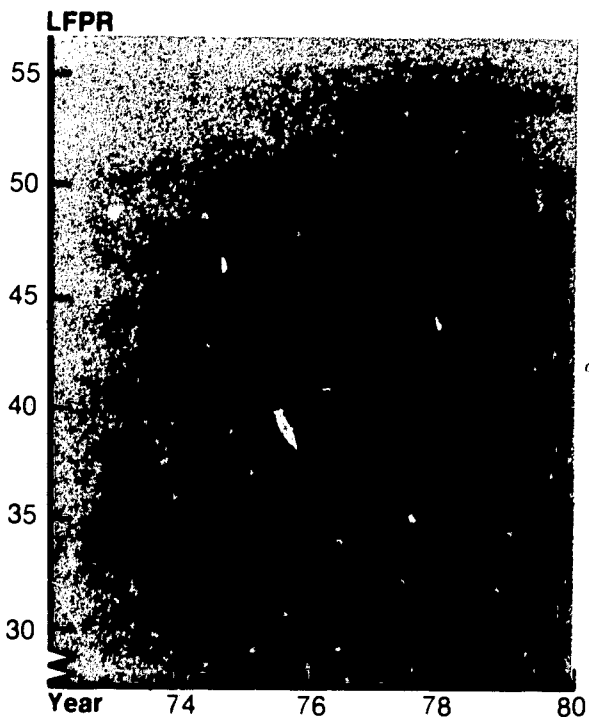
Diagram 2.

Labor Force Participation Rate (LFPR) of Men and Women by Race and Ethnicity, March 1974, 1976, 1978

Men



Women



U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, *Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States*, various issues (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office); and Department of Labor and Human Resources, *Employment and Unemployment in Puerto Rico*, 1980 and 1979. Puerto Rico

Unemployment Rates

Mexican-American men's unemployment rate was the lowest of the groups of Hispanic men during the 1970's, although it was higher than that of whites (diagram 3). In 1978, for instance, 8.6 percent of those in the labor force were looking for work, compared to 5.6 percent among white men and 12 percent among blacks.

More recently, Cuban-American men have had the lowest unemployment rate among Hispanics. In 1981, those aged 20 and older had an unemployment rate of 8 percent; among Mexican-American men of the same age, it was above 8 1/2 percent. (Among white men it was about 5 1/2 percent, and blacks, over 13 percent.)

Although Cuban-American men have a relatively low rate of unemployment compared to the other Hispanic groups, problems seem to exist among the most recent group of Cuban immigrants. The approximately 125,000 "Mariel refugees" have increased the size of the working-age Cuban-American population by about 15 percent. Roughly 90 percent are male, and while few reliable statistics are available, there is some evidence that many are jobless.¹²

Puerto Rican men in the work force have more problems finding jobs than any other group of Hispanic men. The unemployment rate of those on the mainland was about 8 1/2 percent in 1974, over 14 percent in 1976, and 11 1/2 percent in 1978. In each of those years, their unemployment rate was closer to that of blacks than to the other Hispanic groups.

The unemployment rate among Puerto Rican men on the island has been even higher. In 1974, it was about 14 percent; since then, closer to 20 percent of those in the work force have been unemployed.

Both Mexican-American and Puerto Rican women have problems finding work (diagram 3). In 1974, unemployment ran close to 10 percent for both groups, a rate somewhat higher than that of black women (9 percent). Both groups had an unemployment rate of 14 percent in 1976, again slightly higher than that of blacks (12.6 percent). In 1978, their rates were still over 11 percent.

Among Hispanic women, Cuban-Americans have low unemployment rates. Since the late 1970's, their unemployment rate has been close to, and sometimes below, that of whites. For instance, in 1978 it was about 4 1/2 percent compared to 6 percent among whites.

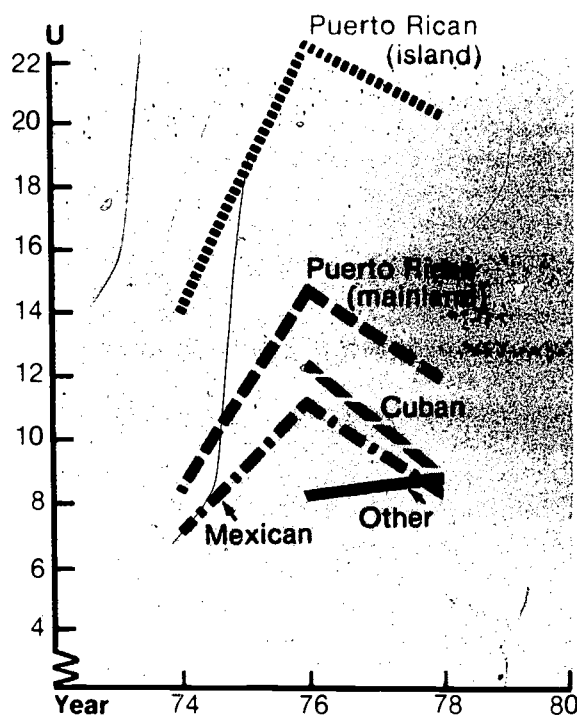
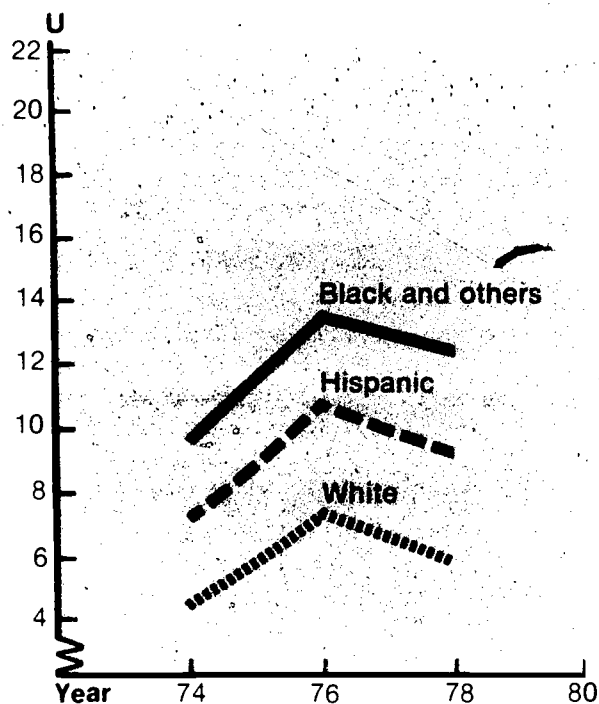
Occupations

Mexican-American men are less likely than any other group--racial or Spanish-origin--to be in white-collar jobs; they are the least likely to be professionals or managers (table 6). Less than 12 percent are professionals or managers, compared to about

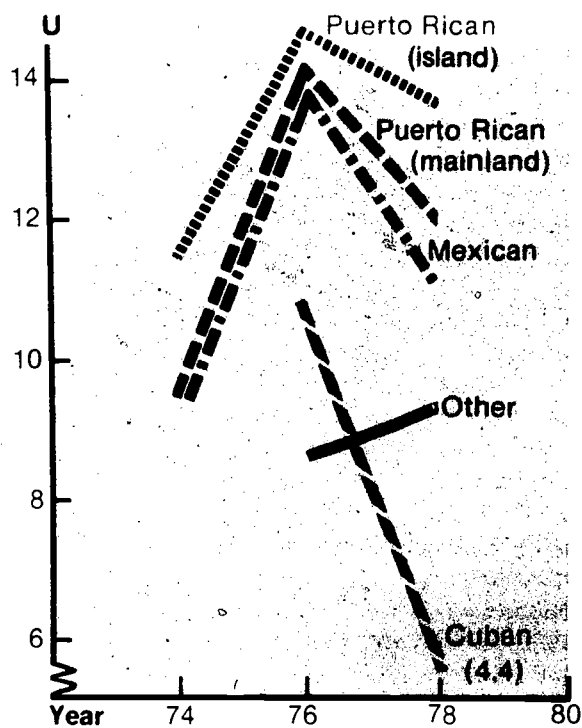
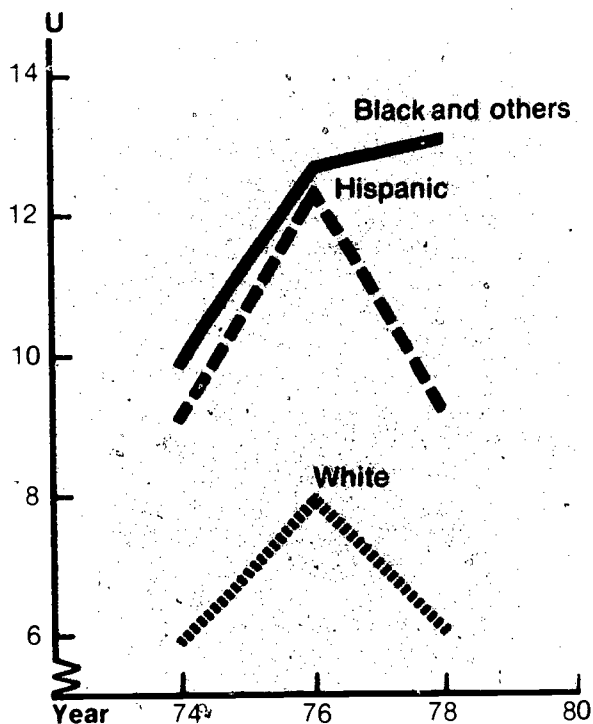
Diagram 3.

**Unemployment Rate (U) of Men and Women by Race and Ethnicity,
March 1974, 1976, 1978**

Men



Women



U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, *Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States*, various issues (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office); and Department of Labor and Human Resources, *Employment and Unemployment in Puerto Rico*, 1980 and 1979, Puerto Rico

Table 6

Occupational Distribution of Employed Men
By Race and Ethnicity, 1976

	White	Black	Total Hispanic	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Other
<u>Total</u>							
No. Employed (Thousands)	49,893	5,599	2,704	1,724	272	227	481
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>White Collar</u>	42.4	26.7	23.6	19.4	25.0	35.2	33.2
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers	15.3	9.8	7.6	5.5	8.2	13.6	12.2
Managers and Administrators, excl. Farm	14.8	6.5	6.6	6.0	4.6	8.6	9.1
Sales	6.3	2.6	3.2	1.9	3.3	6.7	6.3
Clerical and Kindred Workers	6.0	7.8	6.2	6.0	8.9	6.3	5.6
<u>Blue Collar</u>	45.6	53.6	58.5	61.4	52.6	52.9	52.0
Craft and Kindred Workers	21.7	15.4	20.9	21.5	14.4	23.4	21.3
Operatives	17.0	24.6	25.5	26.3	28.1	22.9	22.7
Laborers, excl. Farm	7.0	13.6	11.7	13.6	10.1	6.6	8.0
Farmers and Farm Managers	4.2	3.9	0.2	0.2	-	0.4	0.4
Farm Laborers and Supervisors	-	-	4.5	6.2	3.0	0.4	1.3
Service Workers	7.8	15.9	13.4	12.9	19.5	11.0	13.2

SOURCE: National Commission for Employment Policy, Increasing the Earnings of Disadvantaged Women; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 354, "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1979."

16 percent among employed black men, for example. Mexican-American men are also more likely to be in blue-collar jobs than any other group. Over 60 percent do such work. Finally, they are also more likely to be in farm work than the other groups, although only 6 1/2 percent are employed in this way.

Cuban-American men are more likely to hold white-collar jobs than any group, except whites. Thirty-five percent are in this broad category of occupations, compared to 42 percent among white men. Further, almost one-quarter of Cuban-American men are working as professionals or managers (compared to 30 percent of whites).

Puerto Ricans have a larger proportion employed in service work than the other racial or Spanish-origin groups; about 20 percent are employed in this occupation. They also have a somewhat larger proportion employed as operatives (machine operators) than the other groups--28 percent, compared to 26 percent among Mexican-Americans, the group with the next highest proportion. Finally, while one-quarter of employed Puerto Rican men are in white-collar jobs, they are more likely to be in clerical work--and less likely to be professionals, managers (or sales workers)--than Cuban-American men.

Most employed Hispanic women hold one of three types of jobs: clerical work, operatives (machine operators), and service work (table 7). Mexican-American women are more evenly divided than the other groups of Hispanic women among these three occupations. Less than one-third have clerical jobs; one-quarter are machine operators; and almost one-quarter are service workers. By comparison, Cuban-American women are more likely to be machine operators (36 percent) and less likely to be in service work (11 percent). Puerto Rican women are more likely to be in clerical work (38 percent) and less likely to be machine operators (23 percent).

Wages and Income

Mexican-American men have the lowest rate of pay of the racial/Spanish-origin groups of men (table 8). In 1975, when white men averaged close to \$6.00 an hour (and blacks, \$4.65), Mexican-American men earned, on average, \$4.30. This was 20 cents less an hour than Puerto Rican men (the next lowest group) and \$1.00 per hour less than Cuban-American men.

All groups of Hispanic men have higher annual incomes than blacks, but lower incomes than whites (table 8). Within the Hispanic population there have been changes in the relative position of the different groups over the past decade.¹³ The income position of Mexican-American men was only slightly better than that of blacks and was the lowest of the Hispanic groups from 1970 to 1975. The relative income position of Puerto Rican

Table 7

Occupational Distribution of Employed Women
by Race and Ethnicity, 1979

	White	Black	Total Hispanic	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Other
<u>Total</u>							
No. Employed (Thousands)	33,943	4,938	1,677	962	173	152	390
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>White Collar</u>	65.5	47.1	48.2	46.1	56.6	46.7	50.8
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers	15.9	13.8	7.5	6.4	10.4	6.5	9.6
Managers and Administrators, excl. Farm	6.5	2.9	3.7	3.5	4.2	2.4	4.4
Sales	7.4	3.1	5.3	5.1	3.6	6.6	6.2
Clerical and Kindred Workers	35.7	27.2	31.7	31.1	38.4	31.2	30.6
<u>Blue Collar</u>	14.3	18.6	28.4	28.1	26.4	41.9	24.8
Craft and Kindred Workers	1.9	1.3	2.1	1.8	2.2	3.9	2.3
Operatives	11.2	15.8	25.2	25.0	23.4	36.8	21.7
Laborers excl. Farm	1.2	1.4	1.1	1.3	0.8	1.2	0.8
Farmers and Farm Managers	1.4	0.9	-	-	-	-	-
Farm Laborers and Supervisors	-	-	1.5	2.4	0.9	-	-
Service Workers	18.8	33.4	21.8	23.4	16.1	11.4	24.5

SOURCE: National Commission for Employment Policy, Increasing the Earnings of Disadvantaged Women, and U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 354, "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1979."

Table 8

Average Wage and Median Annual Income
of Men by Race and Hispanic Group

Race and Hispanic Group	Average Hourly Wage, 1975 ^a	Median Annual Income, 1978 ^b
Total Hispanic	\$4.58	\$8,380
Mexican-American	4.31	8,300
Puerto Rican	4.52	7,807
Cuban-American	5.33	9,053
Central/South American	4.94	8,925
Other Spanish	5.20	8,766
White	5.97	11,107
Black	4.65	6,861

a. Men 14 years or older, working for a wage or salary.

b. Men 14 years or older who had an income.

SOURCES: Massey, "The Demographic and Economic Position," and Cordelia Reimers, "A Comparative Analysis."

men began to deteriorate with the 1975-76 recession and approached that of Mexican-Americans. By 1978, Puerto Rican men had the lowest median income of all Hispanic groups--\$7,800, \$500 below Mexican-Americans, although \$1,000 above blacks.

Cuban-American men have the highest median income among Hispanics, a little over \$9,000 in 1978. However, this was still about \$2,000 less than that of white men.

Mexican-American women, like Mexican-American men, earn less per hour than the other racial or Spanish-origin groups (table 9). In 1975, they earned less than \$3.00 an hour. Puerto Rican women, in comparison, averaged almost \$3.40 an hour; black women, about \$3.50 an hour; and white women, almost \$3.70 per hour.

Mexican-American women also have the lowest median annual income of all the groups--\$3,400 (in 1978), about \$300 below that of black women. Throughout the 1970's their median income differed little from that of black women, the next lowest income group. By comparison, Puerto Rican and Cuban-American women had a median income closer to that of white women; in 1978 it was \$4,050 for both groups, while among whites, it was about \$4,100.

Summary

Describing the position of Hispanic men and women in the labor market is complex. They have different characteristics and they vary in the type and severity of problems they experience. These differences are obscured by figures for Hispanic population as a whole.

Mexican-Americans

Mexican-Americans are the largest Hispanic group. The vast majority live in the southwest. They are the least urban of the Hispanic groups, although about 80 percent live in metropolitan areas. Mexican-Americans have had the longest association with the U.S. They are a younger population than whites and whether native American or foreign born, Mexican-Americans also average fewer years of formal schooling. As many as 40 percent of Mexican-Americans may have problems communicating in English.

The major problem for Mexican-American men is low wages. They have high rates of participation in the labor force. Also, while their unemployment rate is high compared to that of white men, it is not as high as that of Puerto Ricans. Mexican-American men earn less than any racial or Spanish-origin group. They are also the least likely to be in white-collar jobs.

Low wages and low income are both problems for Mexican-American women. Their labor force participation has increased substantially since 1970 and is now only somewhat below that of

Table 9

Average Hourly Wage and Median Annual Income
of Women by Race and Hispanic Group

Race and Hispanic Group	Average Hourly Wage, 1975 ^a	Median Annual Income, 1978 ^b
Total Hispanic	\$3.03	\$3,788
Mexican-American	2.88	3,415
Puerto Rican	3.36	4,050
Cuban-American	3.47	4,052
Central/South American	3.31	5,086
Other Spanish	3.04	4,285
White	3.67	4,117
Black	3.46	3,707

a. Women 14 years or older, working for a wage or salary.

b. Women 14 years or older who had an income.

SOURCES: Massey, "The Demographic and Economic Position," and Reimers, "Wage Differences."

white women. Their relatively high unemployment rates indicate that they have difficulties finding work, although the problem of joblessness is greater among Puerto Rican women. The major issue for Mexican-American women is low pay: they earn less per hour than any other racial or Spanish-origin group of men or women. Their annual income is also below that of all the other groups.

Puerto Ricans

Puerto Ricans are the second largest Hispanic group. They are largely divided between two locations: the island and the northeastern part of the U.S., especially New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The vast majority on the mainland live in central cities. Although they became U.S. citizens when the U.S. annexed the island in 1898, Puerto Ricans did not begin to migrate frequently between the island and the mainland until after World War II. Like Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans are a younger population than whites and they have fewer years of education as well. Further, close to 60 percent may have difficulties with English.

Joblessness is a severe problem for Puerto Rican men and women. They have the lowest rates of participation in the labor force and the highest rates of unemployment of the Hispanic groups. Puerto Ricans fare as badly as blacks on these two measures.

Puerto Rican men and women also earn low wages. While they earn more per hour than Mexican-Americans, they average somewhat less than blacks. In terms of overall annual income, Puerto Rican men fare better than blacks, but worse than the other groups of Hispanic men. The income of Puerto Rican women (below that of Puerto Rican men) is above that of both black and Mexican-American women.

Cuban-Americans

Cuban-Americans are a little over 5 percent of the Hispanic population. Most live in Florida, although some live in the New York/New Jersey area. More than 90 percent live in urban areas, with some 60 percent outside central cities. Cuban-Americans are the most recent group of Hispanic immigrants; at least 80 percent of the population was born in Cuba. Cubans average about the same number of years of education as whites and they are older than the white population. As many as 80 percent may have problems communicating in English.

Compared to the other Hispanic groups, Cuban-Americans fare well in the labor market. Both men and women have rates of participation in the work force that are similar to those of whites. Among men, the unemployment rate is higher than among whites, but it is low relative to that of both Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans. The unemployment rate of women differs little from that of whites.

Cuban-Americans also earn more per hour than the other groups of Hispanics and they have higher annual incomes as well. Still, on these two measures, Cuban-Americans are substantially below whites.

The data for Cubans as a group mask an important issue. They do not include the recent refugees from Cuba. While there are no official statistics on this group's position in the U.S. labor force, there is evidence that a substantial number are without work.

Notes

1. See Massey, "The Demographic and Economic Position."
2. For a detailed discussion of the immigration history of the Hispanic groups, see Massey, "Patterns and Effects."
3. See Massey, "Patterns and Effects."
4. See Massey, "Patterns and Effects."
5. These workers were discussed by Willie Vasquez in "The Central/South American Experience," at the NCEP-sponsored conference, "Improving the Labor Market Position of Hispanic-Americans," March 25-26, 1982.
6. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 339, "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1978," Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979, Table 8; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 356, "Educational Attainment in the United States: March 1979, and 1978," Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980, Table 1.
7. Maria Rouco, "The Cuban Experience," at the NCEP-sponsored conference, "Improving the Labor Market Position of Hispanic-Americans," March 25-26, 1982.
8. Neil Fligstein and Roberto Fernandez, "Hispanic Educational Attainment," NCEP-sponsored research, Spring 1982.
9. See George Brown, Nan Rosen, Susan Hill, and Michael Olivas, The Condition of Education for Hispanic Americans (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1980), Table 3.33.

10. Guarione Diaz, "The Changing Cuban Community," Hispanics and Grantmakers: A Special Report of Foundation News (Washington, D.C.: Council on Foundations, Inc., 1981); and Robert Bach, "The New Cuban Immigrants: Their Background and Prospects," Monthly Labor Review (October 1980), pp. 39-46.

11. Data on the distribution of the Hispanic groups among industries are given in appendix E.

12. Rouco, "The Cuban Experience."

13. Massey, "The Demographic and Economic Position."

Chapter 3

SOURCES OF HISPANICS' PROBLEMS IN THE JOB MARKET

Lack of proficiency in English, low levels of education, and discrimination are the three major reasons why Hispanic-Americans have problems in the job market. Of these, a lack of proficiency in English is the most important. Language problems reduce Hispanics' access to well-paying jobs, impede their education, and are used as a vehicle for discrimination.

Analysts have investigated the effects of age, work experience, concentrations of Hispanics, and recentness of immigration on their position in the labor market. Results suggest that these factors are not as critical as language, education, and discrimination.

One important theme in the research is that the several Hispanic groups are rewarded differently in the job market for such factors as education and experience. There are two possible reasons for this: (1) States and local areas differ in their industrial and occupational mixes as well as in rates of economic growth, or (2) different groups receive different treatment in the job market. It is not possible to determine beyond doubt the exact reason for the observed variations among Hispanics because the groups are largely located in separate geographic areas. Also, in places where several Hispanic groups live, the data necessary for analysis are not available.

It does appear that Puerto Ricans' relatively low labor force participation rate and high rate of unemployment are partially caused by the low rates of economic growth in both Puerto Rico and the northeastern United States.¹ Similarly, the relatively low rates of unemployment of Mexican- and Cuban-American men may be partly due to their location in the "Sunbelt," a more prosperous region.

This chapter reviews the research on the reasons for Hispanic difficulties in the job market. The findings are based on statistical techniques--correlation and regression analysis. The goal of these techniques is to sort out the effects on, for example, wages, of various characteristics, such as geographic location, immigrant status, age, education, and proficiency in English. While the correlation between characteristics and experiences can be established by regression analysis, in some cases the reasons for the results are not clear. In these situations, it is useful to look to sociological studies and to the experiences of practitioners and experts in the field for a better understanding of the findings.

The chapter looks first at research results on the three major barriers Hispanics face in the job market: language, education, and discrimination. Because the adverse impact of English-language difficulties could be offset by the presence of large Spanish-speaking communities, findings on the way in which concentrations of Hispanic-Americans influence their position are also presented early in the chapter. The discussion then turns to a review of other factors that affect Hispanics--age, work experience, and immigration.

Language

The relationship between proficiency in English and Hispanics' experience in the job market is a new area of research. Most work has been undertaken in the past 2 years and has been sponsored by the National Commission for Employment Policy and the U.S. Department of Labor. It has dealt with language's effect on Hispanics' participation in the work force, their occupations, and their earnings.

Several different measures of language proficiency exist and different approaches have been taken to investigate its impact. "Proficiency in English," as used here, means that a person understands and speaks English, and also has a certain degree of fluency, estimated by the extent to which he (or she) interacts in English with family, friends, and others.

One of the first studies in this area compared the wages of Hispanic men who both know and use English with the wages of otherwise similar Hispanic men who either do not know English, or do not usually communicate in it.² This work found that men who lack proficiency in English--or do not use it--earn almost 20 percent less per hour than those who both know and use English.

A lack of proficiency in English also affects the financial rewards Hispanic men receive for their schooling and past work experience. A study for the NCEP indicates that the economic disadvantages associated with language problems are greater the more years of schooling and experience a man has.³ For example, a Hispanic man with 9 years of education who does not speak English earns about 13 percent less per week than his counterpart who is fluent in the language, while a Hispanic man with 12 years of schooling who does not speak English earns about 20 percent less per week than his counterpart who speaks English well.

Difficulties with English have a somewhat different effect on the experiences of Hispanic women. Research suggests that those who are not fluent in English are less likely to be in the labor force. This is particularly true among those who were born outside the United States.⁴ The reasons for this relationship are

not well understood, but two explanations seems plausible. Hispanic women may be reluctant to look for work if they are not fluent in English; alternatively, a lack of proficiency in English may represent a cultural orientation that is not conducive to women working outside the home.

Like their male counterparts, women with 12 or more years of education who have problems with English earn less per week than their counterparts who are proficient in English.⁵ However, women with fewer than 12 years of schooling who are not proficient in English earn more than those who are fluent. It is not completely clear why women dropouts who do not speak English earn more than those who quit school and do speak the language. One possible explanation is that the two groups are very different. The one may have left school due more to language problems than a lack of motivation; once in the workplace, their motivation has an economic payoff. By comparison, the other group, fluent in English, may have been less motivated in school and this same relative lack of motivation is showing up in their jobs. An alternative explanation is that the two groups are in different types of jobs. Those who speak English may be in jobs typically held by women, such as clerical work. The others may be in jobs that are less typical for women, where fluency in English is not necessary, but which are higher paying (such as machine operator). In general, Hispanic women who are operatives and laborers are much less proficient in English than those who are in clerical and sales work.⁶

Geographic Concentration of Hispanics

The negative impact on earnings of English-language difficulties might be assumed to be smaller in areas with concentrations of Hispanic families and workers. Large Spanish-speaking communities might counterbalance the importance of communicating in English on the job. However, research on the role of language in the job market has not shown this to be the case; rather, the evidence is mixed. One study, looking at data for the Hispanic population as a whole, found that the wages of Hispanic men are not affected by concentrations of Hispanics.⁷ Another study, analyzing the separate Hispanic groups, found that the wages of Mexican-American men are lower if they live in areas with large numbers of Hispanics, but the wages of non-Mexican, Hispanic men are not affected by concentrations of Hispanics.⁸ A third study, examining data on Hispanics in individual States, showed that, except for those in Florida, Hispanic men who have language difficulties are in lower paying occupations than their counterparts without such language problems.⁹ At this point, it is not possible to sort out the reasons for the differences in these studies' findings. However, there is some evidence to explain the particular result for Florida.

Specifically, many Cuban-Americans have circumvented the language barrier by establishing their own economic community in Miami, Florida. Some 20 percent of the men run their own businesses and about 50 percent in the area work for a firm that is owned or managed by Cubans, according to one survey.¹⁰ The group that immigrated to the U.S. in the early 1960's is largely responsible for the emergence of this economic community. Unlike most other Spanish-origin immigrants (and later groups of Cubans), this particular group had a sizeable number (almost 50 percent) who had been professionals or managers in Cuba.¹¹

Education

The weak educational background of Hispanics is the second important cause of their relatively poor position in the labor market.¹² Each additional year of schooling has a significant impact on their earnings. Overall, Hispanic men with 11 years of education earn about 10 percent more per week than an otherwise comparable Hispanic man with 10 years of education. This difference in women's education is associated with 6 percent higher weekly earnings.¹³

The payoff to an additional year of schooling varies among whites, blacks, and the several Hispanic groups. Studies show that all Hispanic groups and blacks receive a lower payoff than whites; findings on the differences among blacks and the Hispanic groups are not so clear-cut.¹⁴ The payoff to education for Hispanics is sometimes higher, and sometimes lower, than that for blacks. There are similar variations in findings on the payoff to education for the several Hispanic groups.

The effect of education on Hispanics' position in the job market also varies across States.¹⁵ Hispanic men in California (mostly Mexican-Americans) are in lower paying occupations than otherwise similar non-Hispanic men with the same level of education. However, in the other States, where they are concentrated, Hispanics and non-Hispanics with the same amount of schooling are in similar paying occupations, again after taking other factors into account.

Even though Hispanics receive a lower payoff than whites to an additional year of schooling, increases in their educational attainment would reduce the wage gap between them and whites. This is particularly true for Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans, the groups with the lowest levels of education of any race or Hispanic group. The difference in the number of years of schooling completed by Mexican-American and white men accounts for about 50 percent of the difference in their hourly wages, one

study estimates.¹⁶ Also, differences in the amount of schooling account for almost one-third of the difference in wages between Puerto Rican men and white non-Hispanic men. Education may account for about 15 percent of the difference between the wages of both Mexican-American and Puerto Rican women and those of white non-Hispanic women.¹⁷

One NCEP study looked at the effect on subsequent wages and employment stability of one specific type of education-- vocational education courses taken in high school.¹⁸ It found that vocational education had different effects on Hispanic men and women. The programs did not systematically lead to either higher wages or more weeks worked in a year for Hispanic, black, or white men. The effect of vocational education on Hispanic women's subsequent experiences in the job market depended upon the particular courses taken. On the one hand, those who took commercial courses in high school had higher weekly earnings and worked more weeks in a year than those without these courses. Further, the positive effect of commercial courses appeared to be greater for Hispanic, than black or white, women. On the other hand, Hispanic women who took home economics courses had lower earnings than women not in vocational education programs. While this negative effect occurred among all women, it was greater among Hispanics and blacks than whites.

Discrimination

In statistical research, the possible existence of discrimination in the labor market can only be inferred; it cannot be measured directly. Both the precise nature and form of discrimination are highly sensitive to differences in the way in which statistical models are specified.

The typical procedure is to ask whether there is some difference between two groups (in wages, for example) that cannot be explained by the groups' education, experience, or some other characteristic. For example, one can ask whether, after taking into account other characteristics, Hispanics are penalized in the labor market to a greater or lesser extent than non-Hispanics for any lack of English proficiency.

Interpreting statistical results on discrimination requires caution. It is possible that systematic errors (biases) in the data could show up as "discrimination." For instance, analyses show that completing an additional year of school has a lower payoff for Hispanics than for whites. This finding may reflect discriminatory behavior on the part of employers. Alternatively, it may indicate that Hispanics receive a lower quality education. These alternatives are possible because the data measure only the amount of schooling received, not the quality of that education.

Because of these kinds of measurement problems, statistical techniques suggest discrimination, but they cannot be used to attach precise figures to it.

Employment discrimination against Hispanics manifests itself in two ways, research indicates. First, they are penalized more in the work force because of their lack of fluent English than are non-Hispanics with an equivalent lack of fluency.¹⁹ For example, Hispanic men who speak English, but not well, are in occupations with 6 percent lower annual earnings than otherwise-comparable Hispanics who do speak English well. In comparison, non-Hispanic whites who do not speak English well are in occupations with only about 2 percent lower annual earnings than otherwise comparable non-Hispanics who speak English well.

Second, Hispanics are treated differently than non-Hispanics after taking into account their language problem.²⁰ However, this differential treatment varies among States and among Hispanic groups. In some States, Hispanic men are in lower paying occupations than white non-Hispanics, after taking language proficiency and other factors into account. In New York, for example, Hispanics (Puerto Ricans and other groups, such as Central and South Americans) are in occupations with almost 7 percent lower earnings than non-Hispanics. In California, they are in occupations with almost 6 percent lower earnings than non-Hispanics. However, in Florida, New Mexico, and Arizona, no difference existed once other factors, including the men's proficiency in English, had been taken into account.

The results for New York, compared to New Mexico and Arizona, may reflect differences in Hispanics' incorporation into the local area's mainstream. The Hispanic (Mexican-American) population in the two southwestern States is well established and has had a strong influence on the culture of the area. Although Mexican-Americans have had a strong heritage in California, they may today be less incorporated into the local mainstream. In comparison to those in the southwest, Hispanics in New York are recent immigrants (and migrants from Puerto Rico) and it is likely that they have not gained a similar degree of social acceptance. The finding that Hispanics and non-Hispanics in Florida are not treated differently reflects the experience of Cuban-Americans. This result is likely due as much to the economic power they have gained by establishing their own community as to their acceptance and incorporation into the non-Hispanic society.

Research that looked directly at the different Hispanic groups confirms that the extent of differential treatment in the labor market varies among them.²¹ About 86 percent of the wage difference between non-Hispanic whites and Central/South American men could be attributed to discrimination. By comparison, about 18 percent of the wage difference between white and Mexican-American

men could potentially be due to discrimination. None of the differences in wages between white non-Hispanic women and the several groups of Hispanic women were associated with discrimination against Hispanics.

Age And Experience

The youthfulness of the Hispanic population might be expected to affect its labor market position. Because the group is younger than the non-Hispanic population, its unemployment rate would be somewhat higher, and its participation rate and earnings somewhat lower, than non-Hispanics. Younger people have higher unemployment rates because they change jobs and actively look for new work more often than adults; they have lower participation rates because they are in and out of the labor force more frequently than older workers. Finally, young people have lower earnings because they have less experience in the job market than older workers, and people with more experience earn more.²²

The young age of the Hispanic population, however, does not fully explain their position in the job market. For example, in 1981 Hispanics and whites had the same labor force participation rate (64 percent). If the proportion of 16 to 19 year-olds in the Hispanic population had been the same as in the white population, the Hispanic labor force participation rate would have been only about 1 percentage point higher than it was. Also, if the proportion of 16 to 19 year-olds in the Hispanic labor force had been the same as in the white population, the Hispanic unemployment rate would have been 10.4 rather than 10.5 percent, while it was 7.5 percent among whites.

Differences between the earnings of Hispanics and whites are partly due to the youthfulness of the Hispanic population. As important, however, for some groups--Mexican-American men and all Hispanic groups of women--the payoff to past experience is less than that for white men, after accounting for other factors. The lower payoff to experience for these Hispanics may reflect their relative concentration in low-skill jobs that offer few rewards for past work experience. Further, the payoff to experience gained outside the U.S. (off the mainland for Puerto Ricans) is less than that gained on the U.S. mainland for all Hispanic groups.²³

Immigrant Status

People immigrate to the United States for several reasons. Some persons are motivated to immigrate for economic reasons, such as the opportunity for better paying jobs than are available in their home countries. Others come to the U.S. to join families already living here. Still others leave their home countries for political reasons.

The number and characteristics of immigrants from Spanish-speaking (and other) countries are set by American laws and regulations concerning immigration. Because these laws and regulations have changed several times since World War II, the number and characteristics of Hispanic immigrants have changed as well.²⁴

From the perspective of the United States, there are two questions regarding immigrants' labor market position. The first concerns their economic position at the time of arrival compared to persons already established. New immigrants are unlikely to be proficient in English or to understand the workings of the American labor market. Language and other social problems may make adjustment to this country and its labor market difficult.²⁵ The second question concerns the progress of immigrants over time, as well as advances made by their children and subsequent, American-born, generations.

Immigrants, regardless of country of origin, fare worse in the labor market during the first few years after their arrival than those persons who have been in the U.S. for many years or who are native-born Americans.²⁶ For example, Cubans who moved to the U.S. the first few years after the Castro government came to power found themselves in lower paying, lower status jobs.²⁷

Findings on the progress of immigrant men over time are not clear-cut. Research indicates that different immigrant groups improve their positions at different rates.²⁸ The Cuban men who arrived in the U.S. shortly after the Cuban revolution are the only group of immigrant Hispanic men who have reached earnings parity with non-Hispanic, native-born white men. Mexican-American immigrant men take approximately 20 years to reach earnings parity with American-born Mexican men with similar characteristics. Island-born Puerto Rican men never reach parity with their mainland-born counterparts, and Cuban men who immigrated before Castro came to power or after the early sixties also have not caught up with their U.S.-born counterparts. There is some evidence that progress in the job market among immigrant men is linked to their acquisition of English and that being foreign born, by itself, does not affect a man's wages.²⁹

Cuban women reach earnings parity with their native-born counterparts faster than any other female Hispanic immigrant group.³⁰ Island-born Puerto Rican women take about 10 years, and immigrants from Mexico take over a decade to earn as much as those Mexican-Americans born in the U.S. However, there is an important caveat to these results. The different groups of Hispanic immigrant women have different subsequent earnings' positions depending upon their year of arrival in the U.S. and, to date, no systematic relationship between arrival date and later earnings has been determined.

Summary

Limited proficiency in English, few years of formal schooling, and discrimination by employers are the major reasons for the problems Hispanics experience in the job market. Most critical is a lack of proficiency in English. Hispanic-Americans' problems with the language reduce their prospects for good-paying jobs, impede their educational attainment, and are used as a vehicle for discrimination in the job market.

Men who are not proficient in English earn less than those who are proficient, and the economic disadvantages associated with not knowing the language are greater the more education and experience they have. Hispanic women who are not proficient in English are less likely to be in the labor force, and those with 12 or more years of schooling are also at an earnings disadvantage compared to those who do know English. Further, living in areas with large Hispanic communities does not generally appear to alleviate the earnings losses associated with a lack of proficiency in English. Cubans in Florida seem to have circumvented many of the difficulties associated with lack of proficiency in English by establishing their own economic community, largely, it appears, because many are better educated.

A low level of schooling is another major reason for Hispanics' problems in the job market. A lack of education is especially important to explanations of the low wages that Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans earn.

Discrimination in the labor market, the third reason for Hispanics' difficulties, manifests itself in two ways. Hispanic-Americans are penalized more for their lack of fluency in English than other groups with an equivalent lack of fluency. Also, after taking into account language problems, Hispanics are still in lower paying jobs than non-Hispanics.

While language, education, and discrimination explain the shared experiences of Hispanics, the several Spanish-origin groups are affected by these factors in different degrees, research indicates. For example, a lack of proficiency in English affects Hispanics living in Florida less than those living in other parts of the country. Also, problems of discrimination appear to affect Hispanics more in New York and California than in New Mexico, for instance.

Variations in the experiences of the Hispanic groups are partly due to their geographic concentration in widely separated areas, each with its own particular mix of industries and occupations. Puerto Ricans' high rate of joblessness, for example, is partly due to the slow growth of the economies where they live.

Variations in the degree, and the manner, of the Hispanic groups' incorporation into the American mainstream also account for some of the differences that are seen. In large measure, Cubans have established their own community; the extent to which Mexican-Americans have been incorporated into society varies among States; and Puerto Ricans continue to have difficulties.

Notes

1. For example, see Rosemary Santana-Cooney, "Intercity Variations in Puerto Rican Female Participation," Journal of Human Resources, vol. 14, no. 2 (Spring 1979), pp. 222-235.

2. Gilles Grenier, "An Analysis of the Effect of Language Characteristics on the Wages of Hispanic-American Males," paper presented at the meetings of Societe Canadienne de Science economique, Sherbrooke, Quebec, May 13-14, 1981. See also, Calvin Veltman, The Role of Language Characteristics in the Socioeconomic Attainment Process of Hispanic Origin Men and Women (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, June 1980); and Marta Tienda, editor, Hispanic Origin Workers In The U.S. Labor Market: Comparative Analyses of Employment and Earnings, Report to the U.S. Department of Labor, October 1981, Chapter 5, "Market Structure and Earnings Determination of Native and Immigrant Hispanics in the United States."

3. William Gould, Walter McManus, and Finis Welch, "Hispanics' Earnings Differentials: The Role of English Language Proficiency," NCEP-sponsored research, Spring 1982.

4. Gould, McManus, and Welch, "Hispanics' Earnings Differentials," and Tienda, Hispanic Origin Workers, Chapter 10, "Hispanic Female Participation in the Labor Force: A Comparative Analysis of Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and Cubans."

5. Gould, McManus, and Welch, "Hispanics' Earnings Differentials." See also, Tienda, Hispanic Origin Workers, chapter 11, "The Occupational Position of Employed Hispanic Females."

6. Gould, McManus, and Welch, "Hispanics' Earnings Differentials."

7. Gould, McManus, and Welch, "Hispanics' Earnings Differentials."

8. These results take into account differences in the cost of living across regions of the country. Reimers, "A Comparative Analysis."

9. Ross Stolzenberg, "Occupational Differences Between Hispanics and Non-Hispanics," NCEP-sponsored research, Spring 1982.

Similarly ambiguous results on the relationship between concentrations of Hispanics and the occupational status of Hispanic men are reported in Marta Tienda, editor, Hispanic Origin Workers in the U.S. Labor Market, Chapter 8, "Language, Education and the Socioeconomic Achievement of Hispanic Origin Men."

10. Alejandro Portes, Juan Clark, and Manuel Lopez, "Six Years Later, The Process of Incorporation of Cuban Exiles in the United States: 1973-1979," Cuban Studies, vol. 11, no. 2 (July 1981) and vol. 12, no. 1 (January 1982), pp. 1-24. See also, Kenneth Wilson and Alejandro Portes, "Immigrant Enclaves: An Analysis of the Labor Market Experiences of Cubans," in American Journal of Sociology, vol. 86, no. 2, pp. 295-319.

11. Antonio Jorge and Raul Moncarz, "Cubans in South Florida: A Social Science Approach," Metas, vol. 1, no. 3 (Fall 1980), pp. 37-87. See also, Massey, "Patterns and Effects."

12. Their relative lack of education seems to result from a poor economic background, a lack of proficiency in English, and birth outside the English-speaking U.S. (which denotes some unfamiliarity with the American culture). Since low levels of formal schooling result in low earnings after leaving school, many Hispanic-Americans are in a "vicious circle." Dropping out of school is associated with a poor economic background and also leads to few prospects for improvement in the future. Fligstein and Fernandez, "The Causes of Hispanic Educational Attainment."

13. Gould, McManus, and Welch, "Hispanics' Earnings Differentials."

14. Cordelia Reimers, "The Wage Structure of Hispanic Men: Implications for Policy," paper presented at the meetings of the American Economic Association, Washington, D.C., December 28-30, 1981; and Reimers, "Wage Differences." See also, Geoffrey Carliner, "Returns to Education for Blacks, Anglos and Five Spanish Groups," The Journal of Human Resources, vol. 11, no. 2, 1976, pp. 172-184.

15. Stolzenberg, "Occupational Differences."

16. Reimers, "A Comparative Analysis."

17. Reimers, "Wage Differences."

18. Robert Meyer, chapter 4 of "An Economic Analysis of High School Education," The Federal Role in Vocational Education: Sponsored Research, NCEP Special Report No. 39, November 1981.

19. Stolzenberg, "Occupational Differences."

20. Stolzenberg, "Occupational Differences."

21. Reimers, "A Comparative Analysis;" Reimers, "Wage Differences."

22. For a more detailed discussion of the relationship between age and experiences in the job market, see National Commission for Employment Policy, Fifth Annual Report, Expanding Job Opportunities for Disadvantaged Youth (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, December 1979).

23. Reimers, "A Comparative Analysis;" Reimers, "Wage Differences."

24. For a brief description of the immigration laws of the United States, see Massey, "Patterns and Effects." See also, U.S. Immigration Policy and the National Interest: Staff Report of the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy (Washington, D.C.: April 30, 1981).

25. Spanish-speaking communities may serve an important social function for immigrants. They can ease peoples' transition into the American culture and labor market. Saskia Sassen-Koob, "Getting Jobs: The Role of the Community," NCEP-sponsored conference, March 1982.

26. Barry Chiswick, "The Effect of Americanization on the Earnings of Foreign-born Men," Journal of Political Economy, vol. 86, no. 51 (October 1978), pp. 897-921.

27. See Jorge and Moncarz, "Cubans in South Florida."

28. Chiswick, "The Effect of Americanization;" Reimers, "The Wage Structure of Hispanic Men;" Barry Chiswick, "Immigrant Earnings Patterns by Sex, Race and Ethnic Groupings," Monthly Labor Review (October 1980), pp. 22-25; and George Borjas, "The Earnings of Male Hispanic Immigrants in the United States," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, vol. 35, no. 3 (April 1972), pp. 343-353.

29. Gould, McManus, and Welch, "Hispanics' Earnings Differentials."

30. Reimers, "Wage Differences."

Chapter 4

GOVERNMENT ACTIONS TO REDUCE LABOR MARKET BARRIERS

The previous chapter showed that problems with English, low levels of schooling, and discrimination in the labor market are the three major reasons for Hispanics' difficulties in the job market. There are several federally assisted strategies that may help Hispanics overcome these difficulties: title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, vocational education, assistance for higher education, adult education, bilingual education, and training programs funded under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. In addition, title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, and national origin, which is defined as:

the denial of equal employment opportunity because of an individual's or his or her ancestor's place of origin; or because an individual has the physical, cultural or linguistic characteristics of a national origin group.¹

This chapter examines bilingual education programs and training programs funded under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. The focus is on bilingual education. These educational programs have been a major instrument of the Federal Government to help Hispanics, as well as other language minorities, enter the American mainstream. Also, the Hispanic community considers them to be a critically important way of improving the educational attainment of their young people.

Bilingual Education Programs

This section describes bilingual education programs in the U.S. and explains the controversies surrounding them. It also evaluates the literature on their performance.²

The Federal Government's interest in bilingual education began with a concern over the civil rights of young people who were being taught in a language, English, that they did not understand. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bans discrimination based on race, color, or national origin in any program or activity that receives Federal assistance, was the starting point for equal education opportunities for language minorities. The Government's involvement subsequently broadened when the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) was amended in 1968 to include title VII--also known as the Bilingual Education Act of 1968. Under this legislation the

Government began to provide financial assistance for developing, implementing, and evaluating educational programs for language minorities. In 1974 the Supreme Court ruled in Lau v. Nichols that the language needs of students could not be ignored in the classroom.³

Today, several bilingual education programs are being implemented. At the same time, these programs and research on their effectiveness are controversial. There is discussion over both the choice of teaching approach and the criteria for judging effectiveness.

There are several approaches for teaching language minority students.

- o Transitional bilingual uses the students' language and culture to teach subject matter until the students are proficient enough in English to be able to follow courses taught for the English-speaking students.
- o Bilingual-bicultural uses methods similar to those of the transitional bilingual program to teach the subject matter. However, it simultaneously emphasizes the need to continue to teach the students' native language and culture even after the students are able to continue their education in English.
- o Structured immersion teaches subject matter and language simultaneously. Non-English-speaking Hispanic students would be taught in English, and the necessary vocabulary in English would be introduced as the subject matter required.
- o English as a second language teaches the English language to speakers of other languages. It is perceived to be necessary in both transitional bilingual and bilingual-bicultural programs.

Bilingual education is a generic term, covering several of these approaches. Transitional bilingual and bilingual-bicultural are generally acknowledged as "bilingual programs." Structured immersion, often presented as an alternative to bilingual programs, is basically another approach to bilingual education.

These programs have the same goal: to facilitate the acquisition of English by children of limited English proficiency to allow them access to an educational system generally geared to English-speaking students. Bilingual-bicultural programs have an additional goal: the parallel development of students' native language and culture.

Sources of Controversy

Most of the discussion over these alternative bilingual education programs centers on two issues: (1) whether primary, or even exclusive, emphasis should be on the assimilation of minority students into the English-speaking society or on the parallel development of both the students' use of English and their original language and culture, and (2) how best to help them achieve proficiency in English with the least impairment of their chance to learn. These issues cannot be neatly separated. For example, some people argue that language-minority students learn English better in a program (such as bilingual/bicultural) that gives full recognition to their native language and culture.⁴ Also, Puerto Rican children, who migrate between the island and the mainland, need to be fluent in both English and Spanish.⁵ The focus here, however, is on the second issue--whether any one program is more effective than the others in teaching English to non-English-speaking students.

Recently, structured immersion has been singled out as one of the most effective ways of teaching language-minority students.⁶ It is contrasted with both transitional bilingual and bilingual-bicultural programs. Together these two approaches are subsumed under the common heading "bilingual education," and structured immersion is offered as an alternative to "bilingual education."

Immersion programs have been found to be effective in Canada where English-speaking children were successfully taught subject matter in French. The high socioeconomic position of the students is emphasized by Canadian proponents of immersion programs as a major determining factor of the success of these programs.⁷ The approach has not been used widely in the United States. Its success in Canada is used to argue that various linguistic-minority students in the United States, such as Hispanics, could be taught directly in English. Some proponents of structured immersion also argue that the evaluation literature indicates that bilingual education programs have not improved the educational attainment of language-minority students in the United States.⁸

On the other hand, it is argued that such an approach is unlikely to be successful with most Hispanic-American students. These young people may need culturally and linguistically sensitive programs, not only because of their national origin, but also because, unlike the English-speaking Canadian students, many come from low-income families.⁹ Further, supporters of existing title VII programs point out flaws in the past evaluations of bilingual education programs that make the results of the evaluations suspect. They also offer examples of effective bilingual programs and emphasize the need to improve the overall quality of the programs themselves and the evaluations of them.¹⁰

Measuring the Effectiveness of the Programs

The effectiveness of the several bilingual educational programs should be measured by the extent to which they narrow the gap in schooling between the students who need the programs and other students of comparable socioeconomic status. Currently, it is difficult to measure the effectiveness of alternative approaches.

First, there are empirical problems. It is difficult to ascertain which bilingual programs are being implemented and whether a program's reported results are due to the approach, its implementation, or the evaluation method. Second, there is a conceptual problem: the evaluations do not have a consistent set of determinants of success or failure. Researchers have not systematically chosen the same criteria for evaluation nor have they been consistent in the type of projects selected for evaluation. Because of both the empirical and conceptual problems, no single evaluation is a reliable source of information.

These types of problems are typical of the early stages of any program and the U.S. Department of Education recognizes their existence. It was not until 1980, however, that the Department funded a project to organize the available information on the bilingual education programs funded under title VII of ESEA.¹¹

One earlier, major effort to evaluate the effectiveness of the title VII programs was conducted by the American Institutes for Research (AIR) under contract to the Office of Bilingual Education, U.S. Department of Education.¹² The results of the study (based on data from the fall of 1975 to the spring of 1976) revealed that participation in the average Spanish/English bilingual education project funded under title VII did not appear to improve the students' achievement in English. Experimental and control groups performed approximately equally in mathematics. Participation in the projects was not found to affect attitudes of students toward school-related activities.

Another evaluation (for the school year 1973-74) was done by the General Accounting Office (GAO).¹³ They reviewed the progress of the title VII program in (1) achieving its goal of identifying effective bilingual approaches, (2) adequately training bilingual education personnel, and (3) developing suitable instructional materials.

The GAO study found the program to be troubled with implementation problems. Qualified and suitably trained bilingual education teachers were not widely available; the local schools had difficulty accurately assessing the English language proficiency of students of limited English ability; and the Office of Education could not determine whether the bilingual program was meeting the educational needs of the limited English speaking

participants. The GAO report also found that the bilingual program had evolved into a service program; it was not a demonstration program intended to develop effective approaches to bilingual education.

The problems uncovered by the GAO suggest that the AIR results should be viewed as an indication of the actual state of bilingual education programs at the time. The AIR results may not be an accurate assessment of the potential effectiveness of the approach itself.

The results of the AIR study stimulated several surveys of individual bilingual education projects.¹⁴ These surveys, generally favorable to bilingual education, pointed out many shortcomings of the AIR study. They, in turn, were criticized for their shortcomings. Because of this focus on the results of the AIR study, the problems of implementation, documented in the GAO report, were overlooked. However, these problems need resolution before firm conclusions can be reached on the effectiveness of bilingual programs in improving the educational attainment of students.

The most recent and comprehensive assessment of bilingual education programs is the review of the literature by K.A. Baker and A.A. de Kanter.¹⁵ This report concludes: (1) schools can improve the achievement level of language-minority children through special programs; (2) the title VII program for bilingual education must take steps to improve the quality of its evaluations; (3) the case for the effectiveness of transitional bilingual education is so weak that exclusive reliance on this instruction method is not justified; (4) there is no justification for assuming that it is necessary to teach nonlanguage subjects in the child's native tongue in order for the child to make satisfactory progress in school; and (5) immersion programs show promising results and should be given more attention in program development.

While the conclusions of Baker and de Kanter, taken as a whole, seem reasonable, their review, as well as the individual evaluations of the bilingual projects that were surveyed, lack a unifying theoretical base. In addition, the 28 program evaluations (out of over 300) that Baker and de Kanter found acceptable contain enough flaws to make their conclusions tentative. Finally, the study combined several different bilingual programs and treated them as if they were "transitional bilingual." This makes it difficult to draw conclusions about the relative effectiveness of the various approaches.

It seems inappropriate to conclude from the available information that either transitional bilingual or bilingual-bicultural education has been proven ineffective (or effective). There are two reasons why they may have failed. First, the approach itself may not work. Alternatively, the programs may not have been implemented properly.¹⁶

It also seems inappropriate to dismiss structured immersion without a trial period. The literature suggests a need for improving the quality of both existing programs and evaluations of them as well as for testing and evaluating the effectiveness of new approaches.

Federal Training Programs

One way that economically disadvantaged adults may improve their skills is through participation in training programs, such as those authorized by the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 (CETA). Under this Act, State and local jurisdictions (prime sponsors) have funded several different programs, including classroom training, on-the-job training, work experience, and, prior to 1982, public service employment.

There are two questions that need to be addressed in order to assess how Hispanics have fared under CETA. First, has the participation of Hispanics reflected their share of the population eligible for the programs, compared to blacks and whites? Second, has participation in the training programs improved Hispanics' subsequent employment prospects and wages?

An NCEP-sponsored study¹⁷ suggests that, in broad terms, more Hispanics participated in federally funded training programs than would be expected given their proportion of the eligible population nationally. Hispanics were more likely to be in CETA training programs rather than public service employment programs, compared to blacks and whites. Hispanics were also more likely than blacks and whites to be in classroom training than in on-the-job training.¹⁸

There was little difference in the proportion of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban-origin men who took classroom training: 34 percent of Mexican-Americans and 36 percent of the two other Hispanic groups. The range was somewhat greater for Hispanic women: from a low of 42 percent of Mexican-Americans to a high of 48 percent of Cuban-Americans. The real difference in participation was between Hispanic men and women; women were much more likely to be in classroom training, and much less likely to be in on-the-job training.

Statistical analyses of participation in these training programs indicated no differences, or only very minor ones, in the treatment of white, black, and Hispanic men and women after program-relevant characteristics of the enrollees (such as age and education) have been taken into account. No racial or ethnic group differed in its chances of participating in a particular program by more than 6 percentage points, after controlling for the other characteristics. Also, no evidence surfaced of differential treatment among the racial/ethnic groups in either the wage rate or the type of job for which they were being trained (or in which they were employed).

Hispanic men and women, were, however, treated differently. The analyses found that women were more likely to be trained for (or working in) low-paying jobs. These results are similar to those found for blacks and whites: men and women of the same racial or ethnic group did not receive similar assistance from federally funded, and locally operated, training programs authorized by CETA.¹⁹

Findings on the outcome of participation in CETA training programs indicate that, for all racial/ethnic groups combined, CETA training increased women's yearly earnings compared to otherwise similar women without the training. This increase was primarily due to greater employment--higher participation, lower unemployment, and more hours of work--rather than higher hourly wages.²⁰ Participation did not improve the subsequent yearly earnings of men relative to those men who did not participate.

There were too few Hispanics in the national data available on outcomes of CETA participants to permit separate analyses of this group. If more data become available in the future, such examinations may be possible.

Summary

This chapter reviewed bilingual education programs and training programs funded under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). Both are designed to assist people in overcoming barriers to success in the job market. The focus was on bilingual education since these programs have been an important instrument of the Federal Government to help Hispanic-Americans, especially youth, enter the American mainstream and since Hispanics themselves believe these to be critical programs.

Bilingual education is a generic term that includes several approaches to teaching language-minority students. All have the goal of teaching English and subject matter. One, bilingual bicultural, gives equal emphasis to the parallel development of the students own languages and cultures. There is no consensus in the literature on the effectiveness of the various approaches. There is, however, agreement that such educational programs are needed. Implementation and evaluation are issues of continuing concern.

Data limitations precluded analyses of Hispanics' earnings after completing the training programs. However, participation in the programs did not improve men's yearly earnings, compared to men who did not participate. The relative yearly earnings' position of women did improve, primarily because of greater employment rather than higher wages.

In general, more Hispanics have participated in CETA training programs than would be expected on the basis of their proportion of the eligible national population. The services and treatment they received did not differ from that of blacks or whites once differences in program-relevant characteristics, such as education and age, had been taken into account. Like blacks and whites, Hispanic women were more likely than men to be training for (or working in) low-paying jobs.

Notes

1. The Federal Register, Part VI, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, "Guidelines on Discrimination Because of National Origin" (Monday, December 29, 1980), p. 85636.

2. This section of the paper is based largely on NCEP-sponsored research by Neil Fligstein and Roberto Fernandez, "Hispanic Educational Attainment," Spring 1982, and on an expanded version of this section by staff member V.L. Duarte, "Bilingual Education: Its Role and Effectiveness in the Education of Hispanic-Americans," presented at the NCEP-sponsored "Hispanic Labor Conference," University of California at Santa Barbara, February 4-5, 1982.

3. See appendix F for a brief overview of the history of bilingual education in the United States.

4. See, for example, A Better Chance to Learn: Bilingual-Bicultural Education, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, May 1975, Chapter II.

5. Diana Schacht, "The Puerto Rican Experience," NCEP-sponsored conference "Improving the Labor Market Position of Hispanic-Americans," March 1982.

6. See, for example, Congressional Record, October 6, 1981, pp. H7089-7092. See also, Keith Baker and Adriana de Kanter, Effectiveness of Bilingual Education: A Review of the Literature, Final Draft Report to the U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C., September 1981.

7. See, for example, Wallace E. Lambert, "The Two Faces of Bilingual Education," Focus, no. 3, National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, August 1980, and Alejandro Portes, "Comments on Fligstein and Fernandez, and Duarte," NCEP-sponsored "Hispanic Labor Conference."

8. Baker and de Kanter, Effectiveness of Bilingual Education.

9. Portes, "Comments."

10. See, for example: Heidi Dulay et al., "Bilingual Education: A Close Look at Its Effects," Focus, no. 1, NCBE, Fall 1979; Rudolph C. Troike, "Synthesis of Research Evidence on Bilingual Education," Educational Leadership, 1981, pp. 498-504.

11. K. Balasubramonian, ESEA Title VII Bilingual Evaluation Models Project (Rosslyn, Va.: InterAmerican Research Associates, Inc., forthcoming 1982).

12. Malcolm N. Danoff, Evaluation of the Impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English Bilingual Education Program: Overview of Study and Findings (Palo Alto, Ca.: American Institutes for Research, March 1978).

13. General Accounting Office, Comptroller General's Report to the Congress - Bilingual Education: An Unmet Need (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, May 1976).

14. See, for example: Jose Cardenas, "IDRA Response to the AIR Evaluation of the Impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English Bilingual Education Program (Preliminary Report)," San Antonio, 1977; J. Michael O'Malley, "Review of the Evaluation of the Impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English Bilingual Education Program," Bilingual Resources (1978); L. Vorih and P. Rosier, "Rock Point Community School: An Example of a Navajo-English Bilingual Elementary School Program," TESOL Quarterly 12, 1978, pp. 263-271.

15. Baker and de Kanter, Effectiveness of Bilingual Education, Chapter 3.

16. For examples of successful bilingual education projects, see note 14 above and Baker and de Kanter's chapter 2. Also, for examples of successful bilingual vocational education programs, see Rudolph Troike, Lester S. Golub, and Ismael Lugo, Assessing Successful Strategies in Bilingual Vocational Training Programs (Rosslyn, Va.: InterAmerican Research Associates, Inc., 1981).

17. Sue Berryman and Linda Waite, "Hispanics and CETA: Issues of Access, Distribution, and Equity," NCEP-sponsored research, Spring 1982. The data used to analyze participation in CETA come from the Continuous Longitudinal Manpower Surveys. Since these data do not allow us to identify where persons live, there are limitations in interpreting the results for Hispanics. Specifically, this group has a very different geographic distribution from the rest of the population and CETA programs reflect the particular training and job opportunities available in individual State and local areas.

18. Fifty-four percent of the participants in the Federal training programs serving migrant and seasonal farmworkers between 1979 and 1981 were of Spanish origin. One quarter were black and 17 percent were white. (Special tabulations of participants in programs funded under title III, section 303 of CETA, collected by L. Diane Mull, Association of Farmworker Opportunity Programs and Pamela Somers, National Farmworker Policy Project, April 20, 1982.)

19. Sue Berryman and Winston Chow; "CETA: Is It Equitable for Women?" NCEP-sponsored research, 1980.

20. Howard Bloom and Maureen McLaughlin, "CETA Training Programs--Do They Work for Adults?" joint Congressional Budget Office, NCEP study, July 1982.

Appendix A

HISPANIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Roberto Cambo, Commissioner
President
Rocam Produce Company, Inc.
Miami, Florida
(Chairman of the Committee,
1/82 - completion)

Rita De Martino
District Manager
Public Relations Department
American Telephone and Telegraph

Roy Escarcega
Senior Vice President
The East Los Angeles
Community Union

Pedro Ruiz Garza
President
SER-Jobs for Progress
(Chairman of the Committee,
10/80-11/81)

Raul Moncarz
Professor
Economics Department
Florida International University

Velma Montoya
Assistant Director for
Strategy
Office of Policy Development
The White House

Jose Pico
President
P&L Meat Processors Corp.
Hialeah, Florida

Cordelia Reimers
Associate Professor
Department of Economics
Hunter College

Fred Romero
Deputy Administrator
Office of Strategic Policy
and Planning Development
Employment and Training
Administration
U.S. Department of Labor

Diana Schacht
Legislative Assistant to
Resident Commissioner
Baltasar Corrada
U.S. House of Representatives

Marta Tienda
Associate Professor
Department of Rural
Sociology
University of Wisconsin-
Madison

Appendix B

HISPANIC LABOR CONFERENCE

February 4 and 5, 1982

Santa Barbara, California

8:30 a.m. WELCOME

Dr. Robert A. Huttenback, Chancellor
University of California, Santa Barbara

8:45 a.m. OPENING COMMENTS

Dr. George Borjas
Dr. Marta Tienda

9:15 a.m. WAGE SESSION

Chair:

Dr. Allan King, Department of Economics
The University of Texas at Austin

Presenters:

Dr. John Abowd, Graduate School of Business
University of Chicago
Economics Research Center/NORC

Dr. Mark Killingsworth, Department of Economics
Rutgers - The State University
Economics Research Center/NORC

"Employment, Wages and Earnings of Hispanics in the
Federal and Nonfederal Sectors: Methodological
Issues and their Empirical Consequences"

Dr. Steven Myers, Department of Economics
The University of Akron and

Dr. Randall King, Department of Economics
The University of Akron

"Relative Earnings of Hispanic Youth in the U.S.
Labor Market"

Dr. Cordelia Reimers, Department of Economics
Woodrow Wilson School
Princeton University

"A Comparative Analysis of the Wages of Hispanic,
Black, and White American Men"

Discussants:

Dr. Daniel Hamermesh, Department of Economics
Michigan State University

Dr. Eugene Smolensky, Department of Economics
Director, Institute for Research on Poverty
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Dr. Ross Stolzenberg, Rand Corporation
Santa Monica

UNEMPLOYMENT SESSION

Chair:

Dr. Ron Oaxaca, Department of Economics
University of Arizona

Presenters:

Dr. Gregory DeFreitas, Department of Economics
Barnard College Columbia University

"Ethnic Differentials in Unemployment Among
Hispanic Americans"

Dr. Stanley Stephenson, Jr.
Department of Economics
Pennsylvania State University

"Labor Market Turnover and Joblessness for
Hispanic American Youth"

Discussants:

Dr. Orley Ashenfelter, Department of Economics
Industrial Relations Section
Princeton University

Dr. Robert Mare, Department of Sociology
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Dr. Finis Welch, Department of Economics
University of California, Los Angeles

3:45 p.m.

FAMILY AND WORK SESSION

Chair:

Dr. Carol Jusenius, Staff Economist
National Commission for Employment Policy

Presenters:

Dr. Frank Bean, Department of Sociology
The University of Texas at Austin

Dr. Gray Swicegood, Department of Sociology
The University of Texas at Austin

Dr. Allan King, Department of Economics
The University of Texas at Austin

"Fertility and Labor Supply Among Hispanic
American Women"

Dr. Harley Browning, Department of Sociology
Population Research Center
The University of Texas at Austin

Dr. Nestor Rodriguez, Department of Sociology
Population Research Center
The University of Texas at Austin

"Mexico - U.S.A. Indocumentado Migration as a
Settlement Process and its Implications for Work"

Discussants:

Dr. Robert Bach, Department of Sociology
State University of New York at Binghamton

Dr. Solomon Polachek, Department of Economics
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

8:00 p.m.

PLENARY SESSION

Chair:

Dr. Ralph Smith, Deputy Director
National Commission for Employment Policy

Speaker:

Dr. Leo Estrada
Department of Urban and Regional Planning
University of California, Los Angeles

"Hispanics and the U.S. Labor Market:
Emerging Research and Policy Issues"

Friday, February 5

8:30 a.m.

EDUCATION SESSION

Chair:

Dr. Barry Chiswick, Department of Economics
University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

Presenters:

Mr. Virgulino Duarte, Staff Economist
National Commission for Employment Policy

"Bilingual Education: Its Role and Effectiveness
in the Education of Hispanic-Americans"

Dr. Neil Fligstein, National Opinion
Research Center

Dr. Roberto Fernandez, National Opinion
Research Center

"The Causes of School Transitions for
Hispanics, Whites, and Blacks"

Discussants:

Dr. Glen Cain, Department of Economics
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Dr. Alejandro Portes
Department of Social Relations
Johns Hopkins University

10:45 a.m.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF HISPANIC LABOR MARKET
RESEARCH

Dr. Burt Barnow, Director
Office of Research and Development
Employment and Training Administration

Dr. Daniel Saks, Staff Economist
National Commission for Employment Policy

11:30 a.m.

CLOSING COMMENTS

Dr. George Borjas
Dr. Marta Tienda

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Appendix C

POLICY CONFERENCE ON
IMPROVING THE LABOR MARKET POSITION OF
HISPANIC-AMERICANS

March 25

- 8:30 Registration
- 9:00 Welcome and Introduction of Keynote Speaker
Patricia W. Hogue, Director Designate
National Commission for Employment Policy
- 9:15 Keynote Address, "Labor Market Issues for Hispanics
in the 1980s"
- Henry Zuniga, Deputy Special Assistant to the
President
- 10:00 VIEWS ON THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF HISPANIC-AMERICANS
AND BARRIERS TO PROGRESS
- Chair:
- Fred Romero, Deputy Administrator of Policy,
Evaluation and Research
Employment and Training Administration
U.S. Department of Labor
- Discussion Opener: Patricia Brenner, NCEP
- Panelists:
- "The Mexican-American Experience"
Arnoldo Resendez, Deputy Vice President
National Council of La Raza
- "The Puerto Rican Experience"
Diana Schacht, Legislative Assistant
Office of Resident Commissioner Baltasar Corrada
- "The Central/South American Experience"
Willie Vazquez, Director
Office of Latino Affairs, Washington, D.C.
- "The Cuban Experience"
Maria Rouco, Washington Director
Cuban National Planning Council

March 25 (continued)

11:00-11:45 Group Discussion

12:00 Lunch

1:30 EXAMINING THE SOURCES OF THE LABOR MARKET
 POSITION OF HISPANIC-AMERICANS

Chair:

Pedro Ruiz Garza, National Director
SER-Jobs for Progress
Dallas, Texas

Discussion Opener: Carol L. Jusenius, NCEP

Panelists:

"Getting Jobs: A View from the Private Sector"
Nancy Gutierrez, District Manager
Pacific Telephone
Los Angeles, California

"Getting Jobs: The Role of the Community"
Saskia Sassen-Koob, Associate Professor
Queens College, City University of New York
New York, New York

"Factors Influencing Occupational Choice"
Fernando Torres-Gil, Assistant Professor
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, California

2:45-3:15 Group Discussion

3:30 LANGUAGE DIVERSITY AND EDUCATION

Chair:

Roy Escarcega, Senior Vice President
The East Los Angeles Community Union
Los Angeles, California

Discussion Opener: Virgulino L. Duarte, NCEP

Panelists:

"Language Issues in a National Context"
Maryellen Garcia, Senior Researcher
National Center for Bilingual Research
Los Alamitos, California

"Implementing Programs at the School Level"
John Fareira, Principal
Thomas Edison High School
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

"The Reauthorization of the Bilingual Education
Act: A Preview of the Legislative Issues"
James Lyons, Consultant
Lyons and Associates
Washington, D.C.

4:30-5:00

Group Discussion

March 26

9:00

HISPANIC INTEGRATION INTO THE LABOR MARKET:
THE ROLE OF TRAINING PROGRAMS

Chair:

Roberto Cambo, Member
National Commission for Employment Policy
Miami, Florida

Discussion Opener: Everett Crawford, NCEP

Panelists:

"The Role of Local Governments in Providing
Employment and Training Programs"
Don Menzi, Executive Director
Employment and Training Council
New York, New York

"Hispanic-American Workers in Labor Unions"
Paul Locigno, Research Director
Ohio Conference of Teamsters and Member,
National Commission for Employment Policy
Cleveland, Ohio

"Hispanic-Americans and the Labor Market:
Recruiting, Training, and Job Placements"
Roger Granados, Executive Director
La Cooperativa Campesina de California
Sacramento, California

10:30-11:00 Group Discussion

11:15 POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR IMPROVING THE LABOR
MARKET POSITION OF HISPANIC-AMERICANS

Chair:

Kenneth M. Smith, Chairman
National Commission for Employment Policy

Discussion Opener: Ralph E. Smith, NCEP

Panelists:

Anthony Pellechio, Deputy Assistant Secretary
Office of Income Security Policy
U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Authur Marquez, Special Assistant to
Robert Worthington, Assistant Secretary for
Vocational and Adult Education,
U.S. Department of Education

Fred Romero, Deputy Administrator of Policy,
Evaluation and Research
Employment and Training Administration,
U.S. Department of Labor

Sigesmundo Pares, Attorney Advisor, Office of
Commissioner Armando M. Rodriguez
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

Kitty Higgins, Professional Staff Member
Labor and Human Resources Committee
U.S. Senate

12:00-12:30 Group Discussion

12:30 Adjournment

Appendix D

PROBLEMS WITH THE DATA ON HISPANICS

This appendix describes the problems encountered with the data used to describe the Hispanic population and its subgroups.¹ They include problems with (1) data on Puerto Ricans, (2) data on legal and illegal immigrants and emigrants, and (3) the definition of the Hispanic population.

Puerto Rican Labor Market Data

One major problem with the data on Hispanic-Americans concerns the Puerto Rican population. This group migrates between the island and the mainland in response to socioeconomic factors, just as the rest of the U.S. population migrates among States. However, data on Puerto Rican migration to the U.S. mainland must be deduced from yearly flows of air passenger statistics. It is not possible to ascertain directly either the number or the characteristics of those who move between the two places.²

Statistics from the Current Population Surveys (the official source of labor force data in the United States) on Puerto Ricans are for the mainland population alone. While comparable data on employment and unemployment by age and sex are collected for the island population,³ they are not included in the national reporting system. This asymmetry in reporting labor force figures creates problems for understanding the position of all Puerto Ricans and the likely future employment and training needs of either the island or the mainland population.

Immigration Data

It is not possible to analyze either the characteristics or the labor market experiences of legal or illegal immigrants with existing data. This is of special concern to Hispanic-Americans, since one-third of all legal immigrants are of Hispanic origin. The principal source of immigration data has been the annual report of the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS).⁴ Problems with this source exist because it is an administrative report rather than a demographic data source; it is organized to address legal, not analytical, questions; it reports immigration statistics by fiscal rather than calendar years. Also, there are no data on emigration.

Illegal immigrants are counted by the INS only when they are apprehended and deported. The count is not reliable because it excludes an unknown number of persons not apprehended and includes persons who are stopped and deported more than once. Estimates of the total number of illegal immigrants in the U.S.,

derived from several sources, suggest a range of some 3 to 6 million persons.⁵ Descriptions of the characteristics of undocumented workers are based on a number of sample surveys. These descriptions must also be considered "rough" estimates, since the samples are drawn from a population about which little is known.

The Size of the Population

It is difficult to determine the correct size of the Hispanic population and its subgroups.⁶ In part, problems in counting the population stem from the definitional differences (1) among the 1970 census, the 1980 census and the Current Population Surveys (CPS, the official source of labor market statistics for the Nation), (2) within the CPS over time, and (3) within the 1980 census between mail and personal interviews.

Because of changes in the definitions, it is not possible to provide consistent figures on the size or the labor market status of the Hispanic population, except for the period 1974-1978 when the CPS definition remained constant. This lack of consistency is a particular problem for analyses of the separate Hispanic groups since the group into which individuals are placed has varied across and within the data sources.

It is not a simple process to identify a person as a member of an ethnic group. There are marriages between people of different ethnic backgrounds and thus their children have a mixed ethnic origin.

Table D-1, which uses 1970 census data, shows the proportion of immigrant and first-generation American men whose parents were from Spanish-speaking countries who married persons outside their country of origin.⁷ These data show that nationally mixed marriages occur with reasonable frequency. However, the extent varies across the country-of-origin groups and between generations of immigrants. For example, 52 percent of the men born in Central America, but only 17 percent of island-born Puerto Rican men, married women outside their Hispanic-origin group. By the next generation, these figures had risen to over 90 percent for men of Central American origin and 31 percent for men born in Puerto Rico.

It is difficult to classify the children of these mixed ethnic-origin families. Self-identification is the method used in the surveys. This method is highly sensitive to the precise phrasing of the question, the allowable responses and, ultimately, to the coding system.⁸ For example, people tend to identify themselves according to the nationality of their father; this means that some individuals who are of Hispanic origin on their mother's side are not being included. Also, people have been found to change the ethnicity that they report from one survey to the next.⁹ In 1973 the coding system in the CPS began to include children (under age 14) in families where the wife of head was Hispanic. Previously the children were considered Hispanic only if the head of the household was of Spanish origin.¹⁰

Table D-1

Percent of Foreign Born and Second-
Generation American Men of Spanish Origin
Marrying Inside and Outside Their
Country-of-Origin Group, 1970

Country of Origin of Self or Parents	Foreign-born Percent Marrying		Second-Generation Percent Marrying	
	Outside Group	Highest Other ^a	Outside Group	Highest Other ^a
Mexico	22.4	16.1(O.Nat.)	45.8	37.0(O.Nat.)
Puerto Rico	17.7	8.6(O.Nat.)	56.9	30.8(O.Nat.)
Cuba	15.9	4.9(O.Nat.)	73.9	26.1(O.Nat.)
Central America	51.5	16.3(O.Nat.)	95.7	25.5(O.Nat.)
South America	40.9	8.7(O.Nat.)	93.3	15.5(O.Nat.)

a. Ethnic group with whom the men had the highest intermarriage rate outside their own country-of-origin group. O.Nat. (Other natives) includes non-foreign stock persons "who identify as Korean, Filipino, Japanese, Chinese, Aluet, Eskimo, Hawaiian, American Indian or who are classified as Spanish-American by reason of mother tongue and/or surname," p. 34.

SOURCE: D. Gurak and M. Kritz, "Intermarriage Patterns in the U.S.: Maximizing Information from the U.S. Census Public Use Samples," Public Data Use, vol. 6, no. 2 (March 1978), pp. 33-43.

A Summary of the Definition Problems

This section enumerates some of the definitional problems that exist in the 1970 census, the 1980 census, and the Current Population Survey (CPS).

- o In the 1980 census the responses of people from Latin America or of mixed origins in the mail survey questionnaires were likely to differ from the classification used by people conducting personal interviews.
- o There are problems of comparability between the 1970 and the 1980 censuses. The wording of the Spanish-origin question, the allowable responses, and the classification system for persons of mixed national origin changed.
- o The CPS and the 1980 census are not consistent with one another. For example, in the 1980 census, people with a nationally mixed family history who were personally interviewed were in some instances classified according to the first of the two countries the respondents named; in the CPS they are classified as "other Hispanic."
- o The CPS coding system for persons of mixed Hispanic origin may produce undercounts of Hispanic subgroups, since a person whose background is Puerto Rican-Mexican is classified as "other Spanish." Mexican-Americans may consider the person to be a member of their group, and Puerto Ricans simultaneously may consider this person a Puerto Rican.
- o Since the CPS began asking an ethnic-origin question in 1969, there have been changes in wording of the question, the allowable responses, and the interviewer instructions. Only between 1974 and 1978 were no changes made.
- o Through changes in the questions, allowable responses, and interviewer instructions, the census and the CPS have been attempting to exclude persons of Hispanic, non-Spanish origin (such as Brazil and Portugal) from counts of the Hispanic population. In 1979 the CPS developed an improved system for excluding them. The 1980 census may include some such persons in its count of the Hispanic population.

Notes

1. For more detail on these problems, see Massey, "The Demographic and Economic Position," and Massey, "Patterns and Effects."

2. The problems this lack of data present at the national level were described by Schacht, "The Puerto Rican Experience," at the conference "Improving the Labor Market Position of Hispanic-Americans." Difficulties encountered at the local

level for purposes of planning and administering training programs were described by Don Menzi, "The Role of Local Governments in Providing Employment and Training Program," at this conference.

3. See Paul Flaim, "An Evaluation of the Statistics on Employment and Unemployment for Puerto Rico," unpublished paper, November 1978.

4. The data are contained in the Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service beginning in 1978.

5. See the discussion in Massey, "Patterns and Effects."

6. See also, the discussion in Jaffe et al., Spanish Americans in the United States - Changing Demographic Characteristics (New York: Research Institute for the Study of Man, September 1976), Appendix A "Sources of Statistics on the Spanish Origin Population in the United States," and Appendix B, "Observations on the Historical Data About the Mexican-American Population;" and U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Improving Hispanic Unemployment Data: The Department of Labor's Continuing Obligation (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, May 1978).

7. The number of intermarriages between people with different family histories cannot be ascertained with precision because country-of-origin data are limited to individuals' and their parents' place of birth. It was estimated that in 1977, about 31 percent of Hispanic married couples had a non-Hispanic husband or wife. (Stephen Rawlings, "Perspectives on American Husbands and Wives," Current Population Reports, Special Studies Series P-23, No. 77, December 1980.)

8. See the evaluation of this method in National Research Council, Counting the People in 1980: An Appraisal of Census Plans (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1978).

9. See David Featherman and Robert Hausner, Opportunity and Change (New York: Academic Press, 1978); and Charles Johnson, "Consistency of Reporting of Ethnic Origin in the Current Population Survey," Technical Paper 31, U.S. Bureau of the Census, February 1974.

10. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P-20, No. 250, "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1973," Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974.

Appendix E

INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF HISPANICS

Data on employment among industries are important because they suggest the extent to which workers may be susceptible to unemployment. A group may be heavily concentrated in industries especially prone to layoffs during the downswing of business cycles, or a group may be concentrated in industries experiencing little or no growth over the longer term. Data on the industrial distribution of Hispanic, black, and white men and women are shown in tables E-1 and E-2. Data on the individual groups of Hispanic men and women are shown in tables E-3 and E-4.

Hispanic, black, and white men are most likely to be in two major industries: manufacturing and wholesale/retail trade. About one-quarter of each group are in manufacturing and between 15 and 20 percent are in trade. Whites are then evenly divided between construction (11 percent) and professional and related services (12 percent). Thirteen percent of black men are employed in professional and related services. Construction is the third most important industry for Hispanics (11 percent). Fewer than 10 percent are in professional and related services, and 8 percent are in agriculture.

The three major industries for women are manufacturing, wholesale/retail trade, and professional and related services. Together they employ about two-thirds of Hispanic women, about 60 percent of black women, and 70 percent of white women. Of the three industries, Hispanic women are more likely than whites or blacks to be in manufacturing (22 percent compared with about 15 percent for whites and blacks). By comparison, white and black women are more likely to be in professional and related services (about one-third of each group).

The Hispanic groups differ in their distribution among industries. Mexican-American men are more likely than the other groups to be in construction and agriculture. Over 20 percent are employed in these two industries compared with fewer than 10 percent of Puerto Rican and Cuban-American men. Puerto Rican men are more likely than the other groups to be in manufacturing; 37 percent compared to 22 percent of Mexican-Americans and 27 percent of Cuban-Americans. Finally, compared to the other groups, Cuban-origin men are in wholesale/retail trade; almost one-quarter work in this industry compared to fewer than 20 percent of the other groups.

Mexican-American women are divided largely among three industries: between 20 and 25 percent work in manufacturing, wholesale/retail trade, and professional and related services. Both Puerto Rican and Cuban-American women tend to work in manufacturing; 40 percent of the Puerto Ricans and over a third of the Cuban-Americans are in this industry.

Table E-1

Distribution of Men Across Industries
by Race and Hispanic Group, 1975^a

Industry	White	Black	Hispanic
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, Forestry	8.0	4.1	7.5
Mining	1.7	.5	2.8
Construction	10.8	8.8	10.7
Manufacturing	23.5	26.2	23.3
Transportation, Communication	7.7	10.1	7.5
Wholesale and Retail	19.1	14.8	18.5
Finance, Insurance	4.0	3.3	2.6
Business and Repair	3.7	3.8	4.8
Personal Services	2.1	3.6	3.6
Entertainment and Recreation Services	1.4	2.0	1.9
Professional and Related Services	11.6	13.3	9.5
Public Administration	6.5	9.5	7.4

a. Industry of longest job held in 1975 among men 16 years or older.

SOURCE: Special tabulations from the 1976 Survey of Income and Education.

Table E-2

Distribution of Women Across Industries
by Race and Ethnicity, 1975^a

Industry	White	Black	Hispanic
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, Forestry	2.8	1.9	3.5
Mining	0.2	.1	.2
Construction	1.2	.3	.6
Manufacturing	14.5	14.5	22.0
Transportation, Communication	2.7	2.8	3.3
Wholesale and Retail	25.2	13.4	22.2
Finance, Insurance	7.1	4.5	4.7
Business and Repair	2.4	2.0	3.0
Personal Services	7.5	16.6	10.7
Entertainment and Related Services	1.3	1.0	1.3
Professional and Related Services	30.6	33.8	24.2
Public Administration	4.5	9.2	4.0

a. Industry of longest job held in 1975 among women 16 years or older.

SOURCE: Special tabulations from the 1976 Survey of Income and Education.

Table E-3

Distribution of Men Across Industries
by Hispanic Group, 1975^a

Industry	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Central & South	Other Hispanic
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, Forestry	10.0	3.2	.5	0.0	5.7
Mining	3.3	0.0	.5	0.0	4.4
Construction	11.6	5.3	7.8	3.9	13.8
Manufacturing	21.6	37.1	27.3	34.2	16.7
Transportation, Communication	7.6	6.3	5.4	6.8	8.6
Wholesale and Retail	18.8	16.8	23.4	14.2	18.3
Finance, Insurance	1.7	4.5	4.9	3.4	3.5
Business and Repair	4.0	5.5	6.8	8.8	5.4
Personal Services	3.1	2.1	6.3	6.8	4.1
Entertainment and Recreation Services	1.5	3.2	4.4	2.0	1.5
Professional and Related Services	9.0	9.7	9.8	15.6	9.3
Public Administration	7.8	6.3	2.9	4.4	8.9

a. Industry of longest job held in 1975 among men 16 years or older.

SOURCE: Special tabulations from the 1976 Survey of Income and Education.

Table E-4

Distribution of Women Across Industries
by Hispanic Group, 1975^a

Industry	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Central & South	Other Hispanic
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, Forestry	5.5	1.6	0.0	0.0	1.5
Mining	.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	.4
Construction	.7	0.4	0.0	.5	.8
Manufacturing	20.8	39.8	35.4	29.6	9.8
Transportation, Communication	2.7	2.5	7.3	2.3	4.7
Wholesale and Retail	23.8	12.7	18.5	20.8	24.2
Finance, Insurance	4.0	4.1	6.2	6.9	5.7
Business and Repair	3.0	5.7	1.1	2.8	2.6
Personal Services	11.1	5.3	9.6	14.8	10.9
Entertainment and Recreation Services	.8	1.6	2.8	.9	2.3
Professional and Related Services	23.5	23.8	17.4	2.3	6.4

a. Industry of longest job held in 1975 among women 16 years or older.

SOURCE: Special tabulations from the 1976 Survey of Income and Education.

Appendix F

HISTORY OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964--which bans discrimination based on race, color or national origin in any program or activity that receives Federal assistance--was the starting point for equal education opportunities for language minorities. It provided a focus around which various groups concerned with the state of education of language-minority children made the case for educational programs that addressed their linguistic and cultural differences.

In 1965, 1966, and 1968 the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare issued guidelines to local school districts for ways to comply with title VI of the Civil Rights Act. A subsequent memorandum issued on May 25, 1970, made these guidelines more specific; it required school districts that received federal funds to remedy the English-language deficiencies of national-origin minority students.

Also, in 1968, Congress passed an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA). This amendment, which became title VII of the ESEA, is also known as the Bilingual Education Act. The Act established an Advisory Committee on the Education and set up a mechanism for Federal funding of local bilingual education programs.

In 1974, the Supreme Court issued a decision on Lau v. Nichols, a class action suit brought by non-English-speaking students against the San Francisco Unified School District. The case presented the issue of whether non-English-speaking students who constitute national-origin minority groups receive an education free from unlawful discrimination when their lack of proficiency in the language of instruction is ignored in the classroom. The Court found that special programs were needed. Shortly after this decision, Congress passed the Equal Opportunity Act of 1974, which extended the Court's decision to all public school districts, not just those receiving Federal funds.

Following the Supreme Court's decision on Lau, the Office for Civil Rights of HEW established a task force to identify the educational approaches to be taken by school districts in order to be in compliance with Lau. These "Lau Remedies" offer a list of alternative programs for elementary, intermediate, and secondary school students, depending on whether the student (1) is fluent only in a language other than English, (2) predominantly speaks a language other than English, or (3) is bilingual.

Part of the controversy surrounding bilingual education is illustrated by the history of the "Lau Remedies." After their publication in 1975, they were criticized for being too specific in some ways and too general in other ways. As a result, in

August 1980 proposed rules for implementing the "Lau Remedies" were published in the Federal Register but they, in turn, were withdrawn in February 1981. Finally, in April 1982 the "Lau Remedies" themselves were withdrawn in favor of the May 25 memorandum.

Both the May 25 memorandum and the "Lau Remedies" are guidelines for compliance with title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. However, the "Remedies" were more specific than the memorandum, prescribing particular programs. The memorandum sets general principles for addressing the problems of linguistic minorities.

Special Reports of the National Commission for Employment Policy

Proceedings of a Conference on Public Service Employment, Special Report No. 1, May 1975
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 291135)*

Manpower Program Coordination, Special Report No. 2, October 1975
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 291217)*

Recent European Manpower Policy Initiatives, Special Report No. 3, November 1975
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 291242)*

Proceedings of a Conference on the Role of the Business Sector in Manpower Policy, Special Report No. 4, November 1975
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 291281)*

Proceedings of a Conference on Employment Problems of Low Income Groups, Special Report No. 5, February 1976
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 291212)*

Proceedings of a Conference on Labor's Views on Manpower Policy, Special Report No. 6, February 1976
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 291213)*

Current Issues in the Relationship Between Manpower Policy and Research, Special Report No. 7, March 1976
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 291295)*

The Quest for a National Manpower Policy Framework, Special Report No. 8, April 1976
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 291275)*

The Economic Position of Black Americans: 1976, Special Report No. 9, July 1976
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 291282)*

* Reports listed above are available from the National Technical Information Service (NTIS) at 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia 22151. Please use accession numbers when ordering.

• Reports listed above are available from the National Commission for Employment Policy at 1522 K Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, D. C. 20005

Reexamining European Manpower Policies, Special Report No. 10, August 1976
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 291216)*

Employment Impacts of Health Policy Developments, Special Report No. 11, October 1976
(NTIS Accession No.: HRP 0019007)*

Demographic Trends and Full Employment, Special Report No. 12, December 1976
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 291214)*

Directions for a National Manpower Policy: A Report on the Proceedings of Three Regional Conferences, Special Report No. 13, December 1976
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 291194)*

Directions for a National Manpower Policy: A Collection of Policy Papers Prepared for Three Regional Conferences, Special Report No. 14, December 1976
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 291274)*

Adjusting Hours to Increase Jobs: An Analysis of the Options, Special Report No. 15, September 1977
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 296735)*

Community Based Organizations In Manpower Program and Policy: A Conference Report, Special Report No. 16, October 1977
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 296954)*

The Need to Disaggregate the Full Employment Goal, Special Report No. 17, January 1978
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 296728)*

The Effects of Increases in Imports on Domestic Employment: A Clarification of Concepts, Special Report No. 18, January 1978
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 296826)*

The Transformation of the Urban Economic Base, Special Report No. 19, February 1978
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 296833)*

Manpower and Immigration Policies in the United States, Special Report No. 20, February 1978
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 294216)*

Dual Aspect Jobs, Special Report No. 21, March 1978
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 296779)*

Labor Market Intermediaries, Special Report No. 22, March 1978
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 290656)*

CETA: An Analysis of the Issues, Special Report No. 23, May 1978
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 296641)*

Discouraged Workers, Potential Workers, and National Employment Policy, Special Report No. 24, June 1978
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 296827)*

Labor's Views on Employment Policies: A Conference Summary, Special Report No. 25, June 1978
(NTIS Accession No.: PB 296748)*

Women's Changing Roles at Home and on the Job, Special Report No. 26, September 1978
(NTIS Accession No.: PB294987)*

European Labor Market Policies, Special Report No. 27, September 1978 •

Work Time and Employment, Special Report No. 28, October 1978 •

Increasing Job Opportunities in the Private Sector, Special Report No. 29, November 1978 •

Trade and Employment, Special Report No. 30, November 1978 •

The Business Sector Role in Employment Policy, Special Report No. 31, November 1978 •

Monitoring the Public Service Employment Program: The Second Round, Special Report No. 32, March 1979 •

The Utilization of Older Workers, Special Report No. 33, March 1979 •

Temporary Admission of Foreign Workers: Dimensions and Policies, Special Report No. 34, March 1979 •

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